SOMETHING ABOUT SAXON CHURCH BUILDING.[1]

By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.

In accepting the term *Saxon* for the English architecture before the coming of the Normans, I am no more concerned to defend its propriety than I am that of the cognate term *Gothic* for the architecture of the next succeeding time. It is enough for each of them that it is convenient and generally understood.

The antiquaries of the last century were content to class together all mediæval architecture earlier than the appearance of the pointed arch as Saxon, and, I think, Thomas Rickman was the first who tried to distinguish that which really is so from that of later date. In a letter communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1834, and printed in the 26th volume of *Archæologia*, he gave a list of twenty buildings from different parts of England which he claimed to be Saxon, and he described certain details which he considered to be characteristic of that period. So far as he went he was quite right, and later writers have done little more than add to the number of known examples. Mr. E. A. Freeman and a few others have contended that some of the buildings which shew Rickman's *criteria* of Saxon date are not so early,[2] but his position has not been shaken, and the long-and-short work, the turned baluster, the "triangular" arch, and the rest, are now admitted to be indications of a date earlier than the Norman Conquest.

We have scarcely got further than that. We have had some excellent descriptive accounts of various buildings, but, when it comes to fixing the date of one, we find little but guess-work. From Ethelbert of Kent to Edward

[1] Read at Canterbury, July 24, 1896.

[2] It has been argued that there must have been some overlapping of styles, and that some buildings in appearance Saxon must be contemporary with some others in appearance Norman. This is true, but the overlapping took place before 1066. We must not be deceived by the architectural use of the word *Norman*, which is only conventional. The Confessor's church at Westminster, completed all but the nave before his death, was a purely "Norman" building, and there may be others as early which for lack of written evidence we are not able to distinguish.

the Confessor is four centuries and a-half, and the church in Dover Castle has been dated beyond each end of them. All through the Gothic period architecture was continually changing, each phase being developed out of that before it, so that the work dates itself. But we have not discovered evidence of any such growth in the earlier time. Changes of fashion no doubt there were, and perhaps we may gain sufficient knowledge of them to help us with the dating, but—except that we may safely attribute to the end of the period those examples in which the detail approximates to that of the Early Norman work—we have not learned the lesson yet.

The difficulty is much that which the future antiquary will find in giving dates to the dull "Palladian" buildings which for two or three centuries have been growing up in most countries of the world. They are not all exactly alike, and some are less stupidly bad than others; but as there is no life in them there is no speech, and they can not tell us anything.

So it was here in Saxon times. The architecture, if it may be called architecture—was a debased imitation of the Italian architecture of the time, which was itself in a very degraded state. The method of building was traditional from Roman times, and there were ruins of Roman buildings in the country which no doubt supplied architectural ideas as well as material for the new churches. In some cases we find better work than in others, and some of the best is amongst that which we have reason to think the oldest. The tendency till the eleventh century seems to have been downwards, but we can not say that it was uniformly so, and that a bad piece of work is necessarily later than a better.

It has seemed to me possible that the ground plans may give us more certain information than the architectural detail and the construction do. The study of the plans has hitherto been neglected, and the purpose of my present paper is rather to introduce it than to go very far with it. And any attempt at classification or dating which I now make must be taken as being subject to modification as our knowledge increases.

The first difficulty is to get at the plans. The youngest of the buildings we are concerned with have been subject

to the changes and chances of eight centuries, whilst the oldest go back thirteen. Some few of the simplest buildings keep their plans even now; but most have been so altered, enlarged, demolished, and built over, that it is only by careful seeking out and piecing together of evidence that we can make out what their original forms were. In most of the plans prepared for this paper what actually remains is shewn black, what is restored on more or less certain evidence is scored, and conjectural restoration either omitted or shewn in outline. Where for any reason this is not kept to, the fact is stated.[1]

It is not to be doubted that many churches still in use occupy sites already so consecrated by the Christian Britons before the coming of the English. In the west, and in inaccessible places, which were not occupied until the English had themselves accepted Christianity, the use of the churches would continue without break. And in places whence Christianity had been driven, it was the custom of the missioners who brought it back to seek out the sites of the old churches and occupy them again when they could. So we find St. Austin did at Canterbury, and somewhere beneath the widespread vaults of the quasi-patriarchal church of his successor is the site and perhaps even the foundation of that church *Romanorum fidelium* in which he set his chair.

Of these Romano-British churches the only certain remain is, I think, that found in 1892 at Silchester. A claim is put in for the nave of St. Martin's Canterbury, but, in spite of all that has been said about it, I have not been convinced that any part of the existing fabric is of the Roman time. I do not dispute that Austin found a church there, but I think nothing that is left can go further back than the coming of Queen Bertha and her Christian family, who were using it when he came. Even so it may claim to be the oldest of English churches—not merely by survival, but in fact.

Austin's Cathedral, much altered and, I think, enlarged, stood till the great fire of 1067. Edmer's account has preserved to us the description of it as it was then, and

[1] All the plans of churches are figured to a uniform scale of 32 feet to the inch; the elevation and section are to 16 feet to the inch, and the plans of crypts to 8 feet to the inch.

Professor Willis's[1] comment is so well known that I need not dwell long on it. The church had an apse and an altar at each end. That at the east was considered the high altar, and the quire of the monks was enclosed in front of it. There was a minor altar at the extreme east end.

The western apse had the primitive arrangement of the Bishop's chair at the end and the altar in front of it. There is little room for doubt that this western altar was once the high altar, and that the eastern one with its quire had been added, probably in an extension of the building, for the use of the monks, and came to be considered the principal altar through the increased importance of the monks, who gradually made the whole church their own.[2]

Of this church nothing now remains to be seen except perhaps the marble chair of the Archbishop, which may be that which stood in the western apse. It is of Italian design, but of English material, and if not Saxon,

[1] In his paper on Winchester Cathedral in the Institute's Winchester Volume, Professor Willis has done for that church the same as he has done for Canterbury in his book, and he has printed some curious information about the church there as it was before the coming of the Danes, and also at its rebuilding, begun by Ethelwold and completed by his successor near the end of the tenth century. If there had remained anything to which we might apply the written account, it would have been very instructive, but by itself it is not definite enough to enable us to reconstruct the plan at either date. I shall, however, use it later to illustrate some details, and to save repetition give here a general reference to pp. 3–16 of Professor Willis's paper for all Winchester matter unless otherwise stated.

[2] Mr. Hope has shewn me a passage in the *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon* (Rolls Series, Ed. J. Stevenson). It was written in the thirteenth century, and thus describes the abbey church of Abingdon founded in 675: "*habebat in longitudine c. et xx. pedes et erat rotundum tam in parte occidentali quam in parte orientali.*" About three hundred years later, according to the same authority, the church was rebuilt or restored, and apparently the same form kept. "*Cancellus rotundus erat, ecclesia et rotunda, duplicem habens longitudinem quam cancellus; turris quoque rotunda est.*" The latter passage would not be easy to understand without the former, but the mention of the *length* of the nave and of the chancel shews that the roundness was of the ends only. The round tower should be remembered. This and that at Canterbury are the only recorded instances that I know of English churches with apses at both ends; for that which figures in several places as the plan of the first church at Lyminge is a work of fiction, and a very poor one. But I think they may once have been not uncommon here. We shall notice, later on, other churches with western altars, and the *turning round* was probably in each case effected as at Canterbury by the erection of a monastic quire at the east end; and then at the rebuilding, which nearly always took place in the eleventh or twelfth century, the western altar which had come to seem abnormal was moved to the east end of the nave and set against the rood screen. The German churches with quires at each end, as Maintz and Worms, may perhaps be a tradition of an English arrangement taken to Germany by St. Boniface.

may be the work of that Peter, the Roman citizen, who was working in England about 1280.[1]

How far the church which Bede tells us Austin consecrated[2] was the older Roman church, and how far it was his own work it is not possible for us to say now, but we know that the plan and arrangement of it were those usual in the larger of the primitive churches, and which have received the conventional name of basilican. This is what we should expect, for Austin and his fellows would, so far as their means allowed them, naturally try to make things as they had been accustomed to have them at home.

The missionary period seems to have lasted about a century. The first body which undertook to speak in the name of the Church of England was, I believe, the Synod of Whitby in 664, but the fusion of the Italian and the "Scottish" elements in her traditions was not completed for many years after that. We hear more of the Italian side, because it supplied the historians; but we must not forget that much of the hard work of the conversion of the English was done by men of Celtic race, who looked upon the Italian newcomers with suspicion, and were in turn regarded by them as irregular. These Scots, as they were called, built quite differently from the Italians, and the survival of their traditions in the buildings of later time testifies to the share they had in the formation of the Church of England.

We have seen that St. Austin's cathedral church was what is called an Italian Basilica, and before undertaking the search for other churches of the same sort, I will describe shortly what is meant by a basilica, that we may know what we have to look for.

The basilican church had a wide nave with an aisle, or in some cases two aisles, on each side. At one end of the nave stood the altar, raised upon a platform, beneath which was a vault called the *confessio*. Above the altar was a great arch and behind it an apse. A space before the altar was enclosed from the rest of the nave to form

[1] Several other churches of very early foundation preserve the chair, which was once the seat of honour at the end of the apse with the primitive arrangement. There is one at Beverley, another at Hexham, and I lately found part of one in a collection of relics of ancient stone-work in the triforium of Peterborough.

[2] *Ecc. Hist.* l. 1, c. 33.

the quire of the singers, and there were seats against the wall round the apse for the higher clergy, a chair or throne for the Bishop being in the middle. In some of the larger buildings there was interposed between the nave and the apse a sort of transept or transverse nave often as large as the other, but without aisles. In such a case the quire enclosure was in the transept. Entrance to the *confessio* from the church was arranged in different ways, but the most usual was by two sets of stairs outside the screen of the quire. And, where the levels allowed of it, there was a window below the altar through which the *confessio* might be seen into from the church. At the end opposite the altar was often a large porch, from which the doors to the nave and aisles opened, and beyond that again a courtyard surrounded by covered walks, after the manner of a cloister. The altar was sometimes turned to the east and sometimes to the west. It was arranged that the celebrating priest should face to the east, but held indifferent whether he stood before or behind the altar.

Every church did not have all the parts here described. Sometimes the *confessio* was left out, and often the buildings at the other end were curtailed, reduced to a single portico along the front of the church, or omitted altogether.

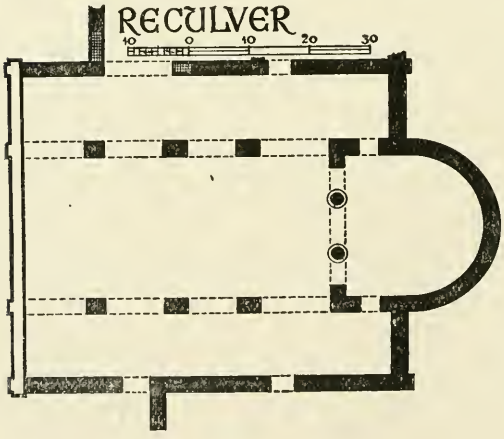

FIG. 1.

Now let us search whether there be amongst the remains existing in England any which seem to have belonged to churches of this sort. I begin with Reculver (fig. 1), because it is in Kent, and near both in time and place to the centre of the Italian influence. The church was rather wantonly destroyed about the beginning of the present century, but we have its foundations and some of

its ruins, which Mr. Dowker carefully examined some years since, and described, giving a plan upon which the present one is based. The early part consisted of a nave 50 feet by 24 feet, opening by four arches on each side into aisles, and to the east was an apse the width of the nave. What may have been at the west was destroyed by later work. The appearance of the plan is quite Italian, except that, in place of the wide arch at the entrance to the presbytery, there was an arcade of three arches, separated by two tall stone pillars, which are now preserved in the Cathedral Close at Canterbury. They are rude, but the influence of the Corinthian order may be clearly seen in them. They may properly be described as debased Roman, and the same may be said of the method of building. The one departure from Italian precedent—the substitution of an arcade for the great arch, which we shall find repeated elsewhere—came of the want of experience in such work on the part of the builders, who were most likely English, and the lack of skill to direct them in the Italian, or Italianised, *amateurs*, under whom they worked. They seem to have feared to throw an arch over a large span, so where a wide opening was wanted they divided it by pillars.

Where there is so much that tells of early date, and Italian influence, it is scarcely rash to conclude that we see the remains of the church which we know was built at Reculver about 670.

The next example (fig. 2)[1] is chosen because it is the most complete of its kind that we possess. The men of Brixworth in Northamptonshire still worship within the walls of the church built twelve centuries ago. It has lost its aisles, and the apse has suffered a foolish "restoration," but most of the original building remains. The nave is about 60 feet by 30 feet, and therefore considerably larger than that at Reculver, but it has the same number of arches at the sides, and at the east end there has again been the arcade of three instead of one wide arch. This arcade, however, has not opened into the apse, but into a chamber 30 feet square, on the east side of which is an arch into the apse, and, reached

[1] On this and other plans of churches having crypts their forms are shewn by shading the voids.

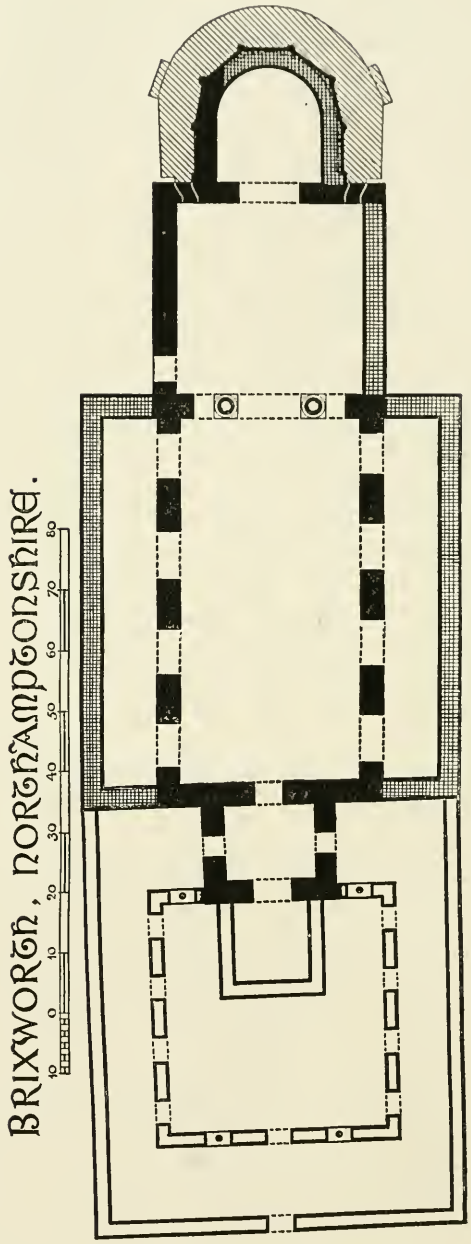

FIG. 2.

by steps downwards, two small entrances to a passage, which runs round outside the apse partly below ground, and I have no doubt once was the way to and round a *confessio.*[1]

The square chamber, between the nave and the apsidal presbytery, is the transverse nave or transept of the Italian basilica. It is possible that at first it extended sideways to the walls of the aisles or beyond them, and was shortened when they were pulled down, as will be related further on; but I have not been able to find any evidence of this in the work, whilst the treatment of the entrances to the *confessio* seems to indicate that there was a little difficulty in getting them in between the screen of the singers' quire and the side wall, which there would not have been had the transept been of full length.

At the west end of the church is a tower, itself of Saxon date, but only the lower part belongs to the first work of the church. This forms a chamber with an arch on each of its four sides. That to the east opens into the church, that to the west now into a later stair turret, but once either into the open air, or, as I think, more likely into a small baptistery. The side arches, which are smaller, opened into the covered walks of the forecourt, the butting of the arcade walls of which may still be seen north and south at the west corners of the tower.

We have here evidence of all the parts of a basilica as before mentioned. The transept is reduced to the width of the nave, and the porch is cut down to a small chamber, and, though there is evidence of covered walks at the side of it, we can not be sure that they were continued all round a fore court. Nevertheless, all the parts were there, and I believe the baptistery besides, an Italian origin for which might be claimed, but I will not stay to do so now.

About A.D. 680 the monks of Peterborough, or Medeshamsted, settled a colony at Brixworth, and built a minster there, which I venture to think is that which has just been described. The old monastery continued until 870, when the place was harried by the Danes and the minster burned; and, for reasons which will be mentioned later, it is likely that before the catastrophe the church had

[1] See note A at the end of this paper.

received the addition of a western tower formed by carrying up the four walls of the porch. It lay in ruins for a time which we can not measure, but which seems not to have been long. As often happened the church ceased to be monastic, and continued as a parish church. When it was repaired the aisles were pulled down and the side arches blocked up. This saved the cost of roofing, and enabled the place to be put into order the more quickly; and, indeed, it gave a church larger than was necessary for parish use. Later on other changes came, the last which we can identify as Saxon being the addition of a round stone turret in the middle of the west side of the tower in the place of the older baptistery, the arch towards which it blocks up. We have here noted four distinct dates of Saxon work in this one church, and perhaps there may be more which we can not now distinguish. In the later middle ages it was treated as most parish churches were, and improved according to the ideas of its users. Fortunately, there was no need to enlarge it; but a large south chapel was added, windows were inserted at various dates, and the presbytery was rebuilt. In the fourteenth century the tower was heightened and crowned with a fine spire. In our time the building has suffered from a well-meant but badly conceived "restoration," and has lost much which can never be recovered.

From Brixworth let us turn to the mother church at Peterborough: it is convenient to use the name which all know. The great church of later times has nothing Saxon about it; but during the works consequent on the rebuilding of the central tower, Mr. J. T. Irvine, F.S.A. Scot., the clerk of works, found some old foundations which were afterwards traced through the transept, and gave the plan as shewn in black on (fig. 3). I have had the good fortune to examine them several times under Mr. Irvine's guidance, but have not yet been able to bring him to my way of interpreting them. The walls remain for some distance above the old floor, which was of plaster, the degenerate descendant of the Roman *Opus signinum*, but all wrought stone has been taken away. I think that anyone who looks on the plan, and also on that of Brixworth, bearing in mind the relation of the latter to

the Italian basilican plan, will see that what we have at Peterborough is the transverse nave or transept with the side walls of the presbytery of a basilican church somewhat larger, as one would expect it to be, than the daughter church. I have continued the plan sufficiently to shew how it works out. Perhaps some day more may be found to confirm or disprove my interpretation.[1] The plan seems to require an apse, and the fact that there is one at Brixworth would lead us to expect one; but the place where it might be is now filled by a Norman foundations, and Mr. Irvine, who examined the ground beyond

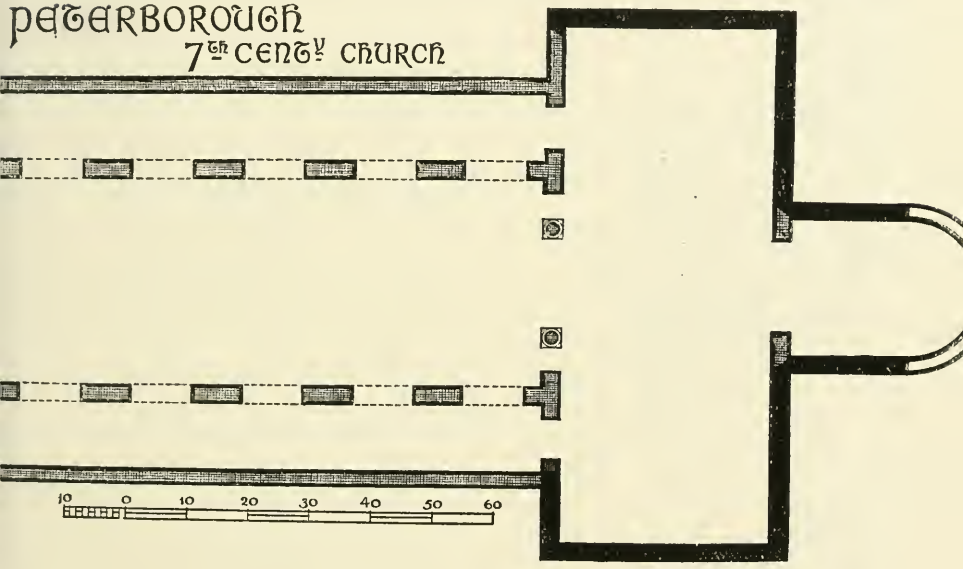

FIG. 3.

this, found graves which he thought were Saxon, and had been outside the presbytery. If he is right the end must have been square. The ground is not suited for the formation of a crypt.

[1] In 1894, by permission of the Dean and Chapter, I dug in the cloister court in the hope of finding further foundations of the seventh century church, but without success. Everything within the old cloister garth seems to have been grubbed up, probably by the gardeners. Within the east cloister walk we found a good deal, some certainly, and all, I think, of later date, but nothing that threw any light on the old church. Perhaps the west end might be found by trenching down the north walk of the cloister. I could not remain to do it at the time, but may ask leave to try again some day. I am pretty sure nothing remains under the grass.

I have said something in a former paper read before the Institute and printed in the thirty-ninth volume of the *Archæological Journal*—where the printer amused himself by transposing the titles of the plans—about the churches which St. Wilfred built at Hexham and Ripon. In that paper I tried to shew that the crypt which still exists in each of those churches was the *confessio* of a basilican church, of which the high altar was at the west end, and that those churches were built by St. Wilfred before 678. Though other views of them have been advanced since I wrote, I have not met with anything which alters my opinion. I will not go through the arguments again now: I only repeat the plans of the presbyteries drawn above the crypts which exist, and refer to the churches as buildings, of very distinctly Italian form, in the North of England, where the Scottish tradition was much stronger than it was in the South.

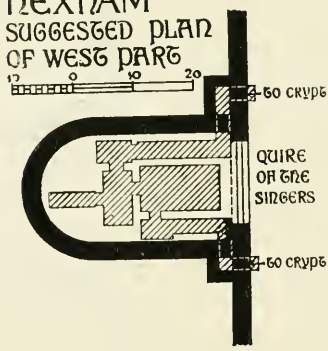

FIG. 4.

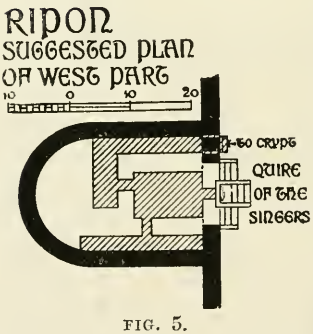

FIG. 5.

We have a written description of the church at Hexham (fig. 4), which was a very notable one in its time: the historian of it goes so far as to say that it had not its equal on this side of the Alps. We are explicitly told that it was in the Roman fashion, and the description confirms this, whilst the western crypt indicates that it was very Roman. It can not have been anything less than the church of which the remains have been found at Peterborough. The church at Ripon (fig. 5) was smaller than that at Hexham, but what is left of each shews them to have been of the same type.[1]

The works at York Minster, which followed on the burning of the quire in 1829, brought to light evidence of

[1] In figs. 4 and 5 the walls of the churches are shewn black for clearness, as there is no need to distinguish existing from conjectural parts.

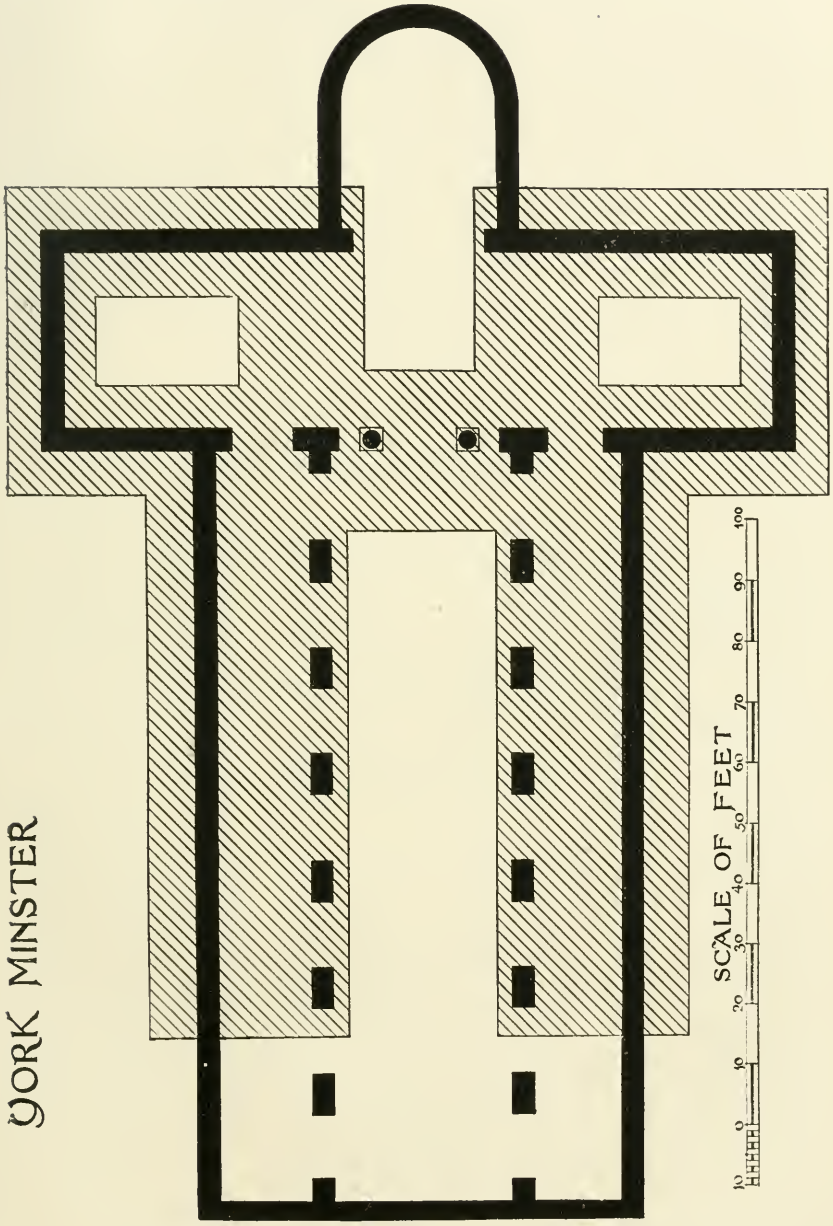

FIG. 6.

the earlier buildings on the site, and we have to thank the late Mr. John Browne for keeping a record of it at a time when few men cared for such matters. In the western part of the quire, below everything else, there was found a remarkable foundation of concrete and timber. It did not belong to the present building, nor to the Norman one which preceded it, but to something older; and, when the plan of it is laid down by itself (fig. 6),[1] it appears plainly to shew the foundation of a basilican church with a transept like that at Peterborough. The foundation of the presbytery is wanting, and was probably removed in the course of the building of the present quire, and I suspect that something is also wanting at the west, where the central tower of the church is now, and that the building went on further, far enough to make the nave equal the transept in length. The width of the transept was about 30 feet, and that between the aisle walls about 68 feet. If the ancient walling which remains visible at the sides of the site of the nave be the substructure of the arcades of the first church, the middle span was about 30 feet, but, if they be later, it may have been a little more. The continuation of the foundation all across, in line with the western wall of the transept, seems to point to the substitution of an arcade for the "triumphal" arch in that place, as we have seen at Reculver and Brixworth.

We can not say what was the form of the presbytery; but assuming it to have been as drawn, which seems a likely proportion, the total internal length of the church would be about 190 feet.

We learn from Bede that King Edwin, after his baptism in a temporary wooden church by Paulinus in 627, began *majorem ipso in loco et augustiorem de lapide fabricare basilicam*.[2] The King was killed in battle soon after, and the church was finished by his successor. Wilfred repaired it when he filled the see of York, and Alcuin studied and taught there. If I am right in my interpretation of the foundations, the daily office is still said upon

[1] See Browne's *History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York*, plate III. In my plan the form of the concrete platform is shown by open scoring, and the suggested plan of the church in black.

[2] *Hist. Eccl.* l. 2, c. 14.

this very spot now in the middle of a minster *majorem et augustiorem* than any of them ever dreamed of.

The church at Wing in Buckinghamshire (fig. 7) rivals that at Brixworth in completeness, and resembles it in many points, although it is smaller. The presbytery has seven sides, and is very perfect. The *confessio* below it has lost the communications with the church above, and the *arcosolia*, which once projected from it beyond the outer walls on north, south, and east, are gone, but it remains a very good example of the *confessio* with central chamber and passage round. There is clear evidence of the stairs up to the church on each side, and the plan suggests that there was a small window by which the

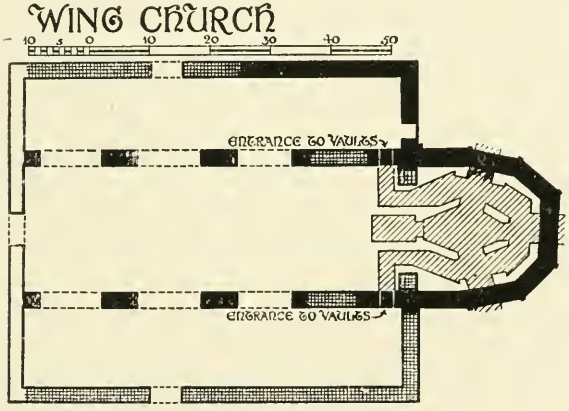

FIG. 7.

crypt could be seen into without entering it, but unfortunately the wall where it should be has been rebuilt.

The arcades are like those at Brixworth; but as they still open into aisles, and have not been stripped of their plaster, they look much better. They have plain imposts on the soffits only, and the arches are somewhat wider than the opening between the piers below,[1] which is a common Roman form, and is often found in Saxon work of all dates.

The chancel arch is evidently modern, cut through the wall because what was there before was not thought

[1] Some of the arches are brought back to the lines of the piers by the curves being returned inwards in the horseshoe form. This may be done only in the plastering.

sufficiently open. It may have been either one arch or an arcade of three, but the form of the crypt below seems to indicate one rather narrow arch, as is shewn on the plan. In the east gable of the nave is a two-light window, with midwall shaft, opening above the roof of the presbytery. Much of the walling of the clearstory and some of that in the aisles remains, but more recent work has taken away all the original windows, and the traces of them, except a few in the presbytery and that in the gable, and all the doors except one at the east end of the north aisle, which, though of Saxon date, has the look of being later than the rest of the work.

The nave here has no transept between it and the presbytery, but the arcade walls seem to have been unpierced at the east end so far as the quire of the singers extended, and where there are now two modern arches.

Altogether the church shews the basilican form better than any other now standing in England, and will give a better idea of what our first English churches of the larger sort were like. It can not be far removed in date from that at Brixworth, and I do not think it later than the seventh century.

Another church built, as we learn from Bede, under Italian influence was that at Monk Wearmouth. Benedict Biscop, the builder of it and of the sister church at Jarrow, was an Englishman, but had been much in Italy and France, and came back to his native land as a missioner in the train of Theodore of Tarsus, who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury. It might be expected that he would follow the foreign fashion in his building, and we are told that he sent for men from France to make glass for his windows, as none was then made here.[1] But when we seek for remains of his work we find something very unlike the churches we have just discussed.

At Wearmouth the church is now for most part modern, but there remain of Saxon work the west wall of the nave and the tower, and in 1866 the foundations of the side walls of the nave were opened out. I have to thank Mr.

[1] This statement by Bede is sometimes quoted as meaning that Benedict sent for men to make *painted* glass; but it is not said so, and is very unlikely.

W. H. Knowles, of Newcastle, for a plan of the church, which he was good enough to measure expressly for my use, and upon which the present plan (fig. 8) is based. The church has had a long and proportionately narrow nave without aisles, and a west porch of four openings, carried up later as a tower.

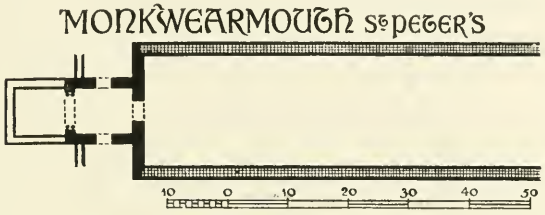

FIG. 8.

In 1884 I was able to find some remains of the side walls of the baptistery west of the tower, but, except the two small doorways which led to them, nothing to tell of the covered ways of the forecourt. The whole of this forebuilding, which is one of the most remarkable relics of early work in England, is arranged exactly like that at Brixworth which stands in front of a church of the Italian basilican form. But at Wearmouth we have a church altogether different, and one which we shall see later on belongs to another tradition derived from Ireland and called in the seventh century *Scottish*. The Italian and the Scottish traditions meet thus early here, and stand side by side, but have yet scarcely begun to unite.

Benedict began his church at Jarrow in 681, and it was consecrated, as the still extant inscription tells us, in 684. The side walls of the chancel of the existing parish church (fig. 9) have been admitted by most antiquaries to be Saxon, though there have been differences of opinion as to the date and the meaning of what is left. Sir Gilbert Scott[1] says that "the chancel of the Saxon church remains." I think, however, it is not the chancel, but the *nave*. When in the twelfth century it was worked in as the chancel of the larger church, its plan was that of a chancel of the time, but we have no example of a long,

FIG. 9.

[1] *Mediæval Architecture*, Vol. II, p. 47.

narrow chancel of Saxon date. Indeed, the Saxon churches had no chancels in the later meaning of the word: the eastern divisions of them were *presbyteries*, and the quire of the singers, where it existed, was formed within the eastern part of the nave. If the Jarrow plan be compared with that of the undated but certainly early church at Escomb (fig. 10) in the same county, it will be seen that it needs only the addition of the small presbytery at the east to make it practically the same.[1] And with the like addition the church of Wearmouth makes a third. Jarrow probably had a west porch and a fore-court like Wearmouth, and Escomb certainly had a building which may have been a porch at the west, where it has left traces on the wall and foundations below ground.

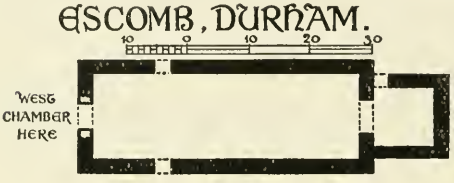

FIG. 10.

I can not doubt that all three are of one age, and that the age of Benedict Biscop and the Venerable Bede. And although their simplicity of form and comparative narrowness shew the Scottish influence, it is likely that at least those which were monastic—and that may have been all three—were fitted up with quires more or less after the Italian fashion, and followed it in many details of furniture and arrangement. Indeed, I suspect that the collection of turned pillars and curiously wrought stone rails now perishing in the porch at Jarrow and some better cared for in the vestry at Wearmouth are the ruins of the early quire enclosures.

Returning to the consideration of the more strictly basilican plan with aisles, it should be noted that all the examples described except Wing, of which we have no record, are known to have been built within the seventh

[1] I made this suggestion a short time since to the Rev. Dr. Fowler, F.S.A., and he very kindly, and at his own suggestion, went from Durham to Jarrow to look for some points I wished to know about. He found the quoin stones at all four corners, thus proving that we have the whole of the nave, and he learned that the foundations of the west wall are known to exist. There have been doors on both sides, as we should expect in a nave, but the east end has been so altered in later times that no certain evidence of the presbytery arch is to be seen.

century. And with one uncertain exception they are *all* the Saxon churches, which I know, in which any evidence of aisles can now be traced. The list might be enlarged from written sources; but a verbal description of a building, unless supported by actual remains, is generally too uncertain to build an argument upon. The exception is the larger church at Deerhurst, which has some appearance of there having been aisles, whilst the treatment of the eastern parts, both in plan and detail, indicates a late date. We know little of the history of the church, and later rebuilding has so obliterated the earlier aisles that their existence is only inferred from appearances outside them.[1] The evidence, then, seems to shew that where aisles are found in a Saxon church we may suspect a very early date. Even at Deerhurst, if the aisles had remained still, they might have shewn us that they belonged to a state of the church much earlier than the east end and transepts.

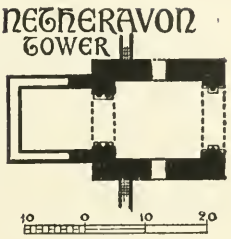

FIG. 11.

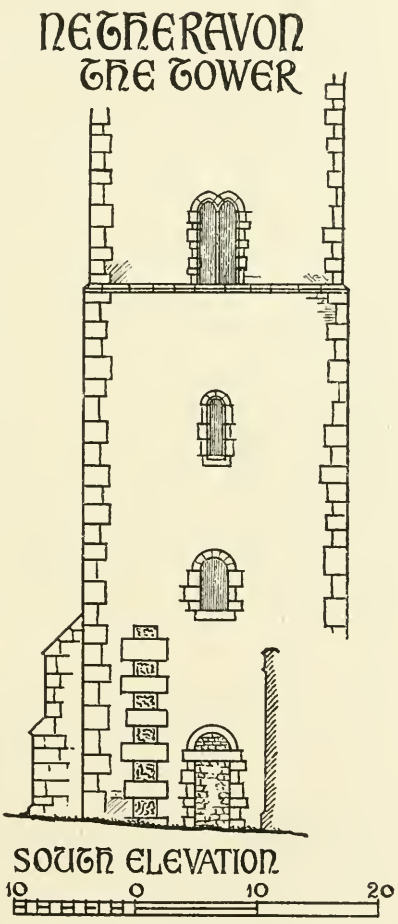

FIG. 12.

The use of the western porch and forecourt seems to have been continued after that of aisles had been

[1] It has been said that the Saxon church at Repton had aisles, but the responds destroyed by the "restorers" in our time, which were assumed to belong to arcades, really belonged to arches opening into transeptal chapels, as Mr. Irvine has proved.

given up, and we find traces of it quite to the end of the Saxon period. At Nether Avon in Wiltshire is an example (figs. 11 and 12), which is remarkable for the completeness of the evidence as to the buildings which abutted on the porch. I owe my knowledge of it to Mr. C. Ponting, who sent me his drawings of it some years since, and allowed me to take the copies, which I am now using. The north and south sides of the tower shew the usual doorways and also very clearly the quoin-stones which have bonded in the arcade walls of the covered walks. These walls have been of good height, and there is a small doorway in the tower wall with its sill about level with the top of the wall, shewing that there was a flat ceiling over the side walk and a chamber accessible from the tower in the roof above it. Flanking the west arch of the porch are two buttresses, which are cut down from the side walls of the baptistery. In this case the tower seems to be of one work all the way up, and not an addition above the porch, as in earlier examples. By the time of its building the arrangement must have become an accepted one. The detail of the eastern and western arches of the porch is elaborate though rude, and it approximates so closely to Norman work that we can not date it much earlier than the middle of the eleventh century.[1]

The story of the first burial of St. Swithun in 863 shews us a forecourt at Winchester with a gate tower in the middle of the side opposite to the front of the church:

> "*Turris erat rostrata tholis, quia maxima quædam*
> *Illius ante sacri pulcherrima limina templi,*
> *Ejusdem sacrata Deo sub honore hierarchi:*
> *Inter quam templique sacram pernobilis aulam*
> *Corpore vir Domini sanctus requievit humatus.*"

Whether this was a usual place of burial is not certain; but it was not one of honour as the Bishop chose it out

[1] The work at Nether Avon should be compared with the tower of Langford Church in Oxfordshire, about thirty-five miles from it, and evidently built under the same influence, if not by the same men. The Langford tower is central without transepts, and is of uncommonly fine design for its time. Nothing besides the tower seems to remain in its place of the church to which it belonged, but built into the wall of a later south porch is a life-size stone rood of Saxon date, and perfect all but the head. It is like that which remains at Romsey, and that which once existed at Headbourne Worthy in Hampshire.

of humility. St. Swithun died before the Danes came to Winchester, and the church over which he ruled may have been that of the seventh century, but the mention of the tower seems to shew that the forecourt was either added or altered later. In 980 Ethelwold, the then Bishop of Winchester, consecrated the church which he had either rebuilt or greatly restored—*de novo renovavit*—and his successor did more work there, and consecrated the church again, as it seems, in 993. There was a forecourt to this church also, and there were chapels opening out of it; but the inflated style of the description makes exact interpretation impossible.

Besides the basilican churches, smaller churches without aisles were built under the Italian influence, and there is a remarkable group of them in Kent, for the use of plans of which I have to thank Mr. St. John Hope. Passing over St. Martin's for the present we find, first, the church of St. Pancras (fig. 13) at Canterbury, which we have evidence was used by St. Austin himself. One can not but regret that so venerable a building should be a desecrated ruin, but perhaps we should not know so much about it if it had continued in use. As the plan shews, it has a wide but short nave and a large round-ended presbytery separated from the nave by an arcade of three arches, as we found it in the basilican churches at Reculver and Brixworth. Outside the church there is a porch to the west and one to the south, and Canon Routledge says that there also remain the foundations of one to the north.

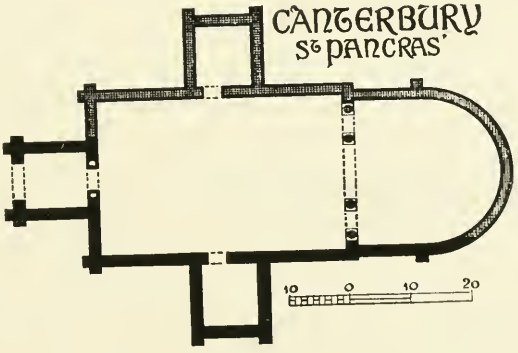

FIG. 13.

At Lyminge a monastic church was founded in 633, and in the present churchyard south of the existing church, the building of which is attributed to St. Dunstan,

there are the foundations of an earlier church (fig. 14) of like form with that of St. Pancras at Canterbury but smaller, and without any evidence of the existence of porches. It had the arcade of three instead of a single sanctuary arch. The next example is what there can be no hesitation in believing, as its finder the Rev. G. M. Livett asks us, was the foundation of the church built at Rochester in 604. Enough has been found to give the form of the presbytery and the width of the nave (fig. 15). The foundations of the two pillars of the dividing arcade have not been found, perhaps because they have not been sought for, but they must have been there.

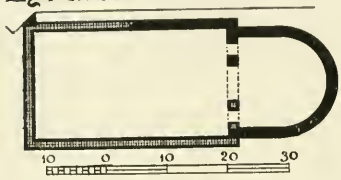

FIG. 14.

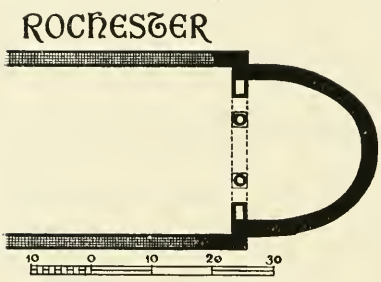

FIG. 15.

In the recent discussion on the dates and story of the building of St. Martin's church at Canterbury all parties have taken it for granted that the present nave is the original building, and all that is east of it is addition. But now Canon Routledge and Mr. Livett have told us that they have found, beneath the floor of the nave, foundations in line with the side walls of the chancel and running for some distance westwards. This important discovery, proving as it does that the chancel[1] is the earlier, and that it has been shortened at the west, when the nave was added to it, has put aside all former speculations and very much simplified the case. The walls of the chancel are entirely of brick, and nothing like them is known anywhere else except at the neighbouring church of St. Pancras, which is built in exactly the same way, and the date of one must be, within a few years, the date of the other. Furthermore, if we elimi-

[1] For convenience I leave out of account the eastern part of the chancel built in the thirteenth century, and use the word to indicate the western part only—that part which is built of brick, and which has hitherto been admitted by all to be Saxon.

nate all later work and consider only what we know of the earliest, we shall find in the church of St. Pancras the key to unlock the mystery of that of St. Martin.

There remain above ground at St. Martin's the south side-wall of the chancel and part of the north, and we are told that they have run further west than they do now. We are also told that the returns of an eastern wall for two feet on each side have been found under the floor, and they who tell us so have suggested that there was an apse projecting from it. At the west end of the south wall, where it has been cut short by the building of the existing nave, there has been a low square-headed doorway, and outside of it are marks on the wall and foundations below ground which tell of a small chamber there.[1]

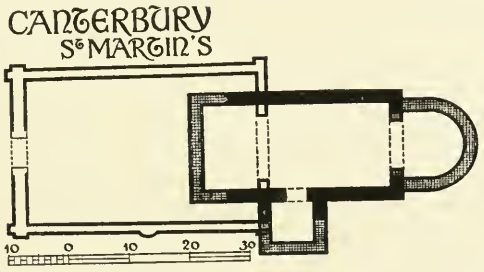

FIG. 16.

Now what have we got here? There is (fig. 16) a main building standing east and west 14 feet 6 inches wide inside, and not much less, and probably not much more, than 30 feet long. At the east end of this there is a gap in the wall which, it has been surmised, tells of an apse; and about the middle of the south side is a doorway leading to a little chamber outside. Have we not all these parts on a larger scale in the plan of the church of St. Pancras? There is the nave or body of the church with an apsidal presbytery at the east, and entrances with porches outside of them in the middle of the sides.

This, I believe, was the form of the church of St. Martin as St. Austin knew it. It was small, but not so small as some which we shall consider later on, and it would be quite large enough for the little body of Christians who came over here with Queen Bertha. It was probably built for her and them, but it may have been on the site of a

[1] The round-headed doorway on the south side of the chancel, though itself of Saxon date, is evidently an insertion in the wall.

British church. The dedication to St. Martin was most likely theirs.[1]

All through the controversy I have contended against the claim for the present nave of St. Martin's to be Roman. The only argument for it has been the use of pounded brick in the plaster and in the mortar of the western window arches. But that by itself is not enough. All Saxon building was debased Roman, and the use of pounded brick in this instance proves only that there was someone about at the building who either knew by tradition, or had read or had noticed in some Roman work which perhaps he had helped to pull down, that it was used by the Romans; and, as there was abundance of broken brick lying at hand, it is not extraordinary that it should have been used here. Mr. Dowker found pounded brick used in the *opus signinum* floors at Reculver, which is now admitted to be Saxon, and it has also been found at St. Pancras's.

The walling of the nave at St. Martin's is against its Roman date. It is made up of older materials used promiscuously just as they came to hand, and tells of a time when there were ruins near, at which the builders might help themselves. This could scarcely have been the case in Kent in Roman times, when it was a settled and peaceful district, but was likely enough after the wars and confusion which accompanied the English conquest.

I do not know whether those who have contended for a Roman date for this work will do so still. But, if they do, whatever date they give to the nave of St. Martin's they must give an older to the chancel, and with it they must carry back the church of St. Pancras. Perhaps they will do so, and quote the story of that church having been a heathen temple. Then they must explain the fact of the temple of the heathen god being built after the fashion of a Christian church, and one so far satisfactory to the missioners from Rome that they made it the model upon which their own smaller churches were built.

The chapel of St. Peter on the Wall built on the site of the principal gate of the Roman fortress of Othona, in the parish of Bradwell, on the coast of Essex, near the mouth

[1] In the plan the older Saxon church is shewn in black and scoring, and the later work in outline only. Post Saxon work is omitted.

of the Blackwater, seems to be another example of this, which may be called the St. Pancras type of church. It is described by Mr. T. Lewin in a paper, in the forty-first volume of *Archæologia*, pp. 421–452, where he gives a plan to a small scale.

We learn from Bede[1] that Cedd, the Apostle of the East Saxons, built a church in this place soon after 653. And Mr. Lewin claims that the old chapel, the wreck of which is now a barn, is that church. Mr. F. Chancellor, in *Archæological Journal*, XXXIV., pp. 212–218, contends, arguing from the presence of certain buttresses, which he says are part of the original construction, that the building is of the thirteenth century. Mr. Lewin says that the western corner buttresses, which are the most important for the argument, are added. Without having seen the place I can not give any opinion as to this. But the plan which is given in both papers is very unlike that of a thirteenth century English church, and closely resembles those which we have just been considering. It consists of a nave about 50 feet long and 23 feet wide inside, with an apse of nearly the same width, and something more than a semicircle, at the east. Mr. Chancellor points out that the springers, which remain on each side of the opening between the nave and the presbytery, are of too sharp a curve to have spanned the whole width, and he suggests that there were two arches and a central pier. It is more likely that there were three; but the use of two arches, though certainly clumsy, is a not impossible variation of the arcade which we have found so often in buildings of known early date. The chapel has had a small western porch as at the church of St. Pancras, and from later notices it appears that the porch was afterwards carried up into a tower, as was done at Wearmouth, Brixworth, and elsewhere. The materials are taken from the ruins of Roman works in the midst of which the chapel was built, and there are no architectural features beyond those already mentioned which can throw any light upon its date.

In the first volume of the *Ecclesiologist*, p. 165, there is a description of a ruined church at South Elmham, near Bungay, in Suffolk, known as the *Old Minster*. And in the

[1] *Ecc. Hist.*, III., c. 21.

fourth volume of the *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology* there is a paper by the late Mr. Henry Harrod, wherein he argues, I think conclusively, that this place, and not North Elmham in Norfolk, was the seat of Felix, the first Bishop of East Anglia. In the same volume there is another paper by Mr. B. B. Woodward, with a small plan of the church and its precinct. Mr. Woodward places the building at "about A.D. 1000." Mr. Harrod calls it "early Norman," and is very careful to guard himself from any suspicion of belief that it can be of earlier date. Perhaps in the year 1863, which is the date on the plan, it might have been regarded as a sign of idiotcy for a man to claim not only that Felix settled at South Elmham in the first half of the seventh century, but that the ruins of the church he built are still there. Such, however, I believe to be the case.

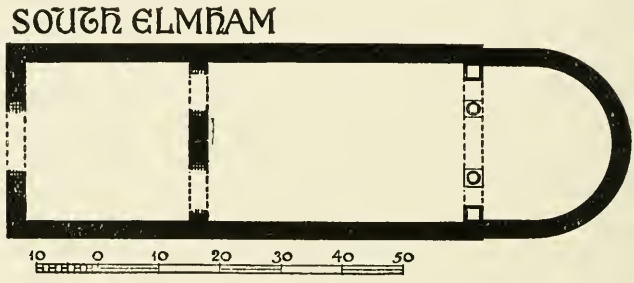

FIG. 17.

The *Old Minster* stands near the middle of what seems to be a Roman camp, and, although not exactly like any we have yet examined, it clearly belongs to the class of which the church of St. Pancras at Canterbury is the type.

The plan (fig. 17) here given is chiefly taken from that which accompanies Mr. Woodward's paper. The nave and presbytery agree very nearly in form and measurements with those of St. Pancras's. But there are no side doors or porches. The entrance is by two doorways at the west end from a chamber the same width as the nave and 27 feet long from east to west. This chamber has had one external door in the middle of the west wall, and it makes the whole building the largest of its type which has yet been noticed. The west chamber

was probably a baptistery, and it is not unlikely that there was an altar between the two doors leading to the church. Of the wall between the nave and the presbytery nothing is now visible above ground. It is almost certain that there were once the three arches there; and a little digging might discover the evidence of them.

We have thus six churches of a very marked type, and each one of them stands in a place where we know from written evidence that a church was built in the seventh century, or late in the sixth, by the first missioners. And one feature in these six churches—the arcade before the presbytery[1]—is only found elsewhere in a few churches, which we have good reason to believe are themselves of the seventh century. The conclusion is almost certain that the buildings, the remains of which still exist, are those first built on their respective sites, and that three out of the six were the modest cathedrals of the earliest missionary bishops.

A glance at these plans shews how different they are from those of the Northumbrian group, although they may be made up of the same parts. I have already said that the last-named owe their form to the Scottish tradition, and before going further it will be well to consider what that was.

The only building in England which can reasonably be claimed to be a church of the time of the Roman occupation is that lately found at Silchester (fig. 18). It is quite Italian in form, and, small as it is, has more in common with Reculver, Brixworth, and Hexham than with the buildings of the Irish Scots, who derived their Christianity from the Britons, and in turn helped to bring it back to the English.[2]

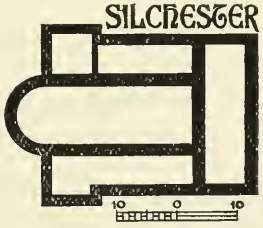

FIG. 18.

These Scots had their own way of church building, and I think we need not seek a remote Eastern origin for it as some have done. It probably originated in lack of skill to do any better on the part of the first Irish church builders.

[1] This arcade must not be confused, with the narrow chancel arch, with an opening formed on each side of it, sometimes found in Norman buildings.

[2] The apse at Silchester is turned to the west; and to the east, in the middle of a kind of forecourt, is the base of what may have been a fountain.

They were accustomed to houses the shape of beehives, and made by piling up stones without mortar, or by setting up a number of poles in conical form and covering them with turf and earth. And when they wanted churches they built them in like fashion, but tried to make them rectangular, not always with success. Soon they did better; but the rude hut, with the altar at the east side and a little door at the west, was the beginning from which they worked, and its influence remains in our English churches even to-day. The little chamber or presbytery was better built, and had a window given to it. Then in front of it a larger chamber was built to shelter the worshippers, but still the entrance to the presbytery was but a doorway, and when it grew into an arch it was a very small one. This last development brought the "Celtic" church to a small square-ended presbytery opening by a narrow arch into a somewhat larger nave.

When the "Scottish" missioners came here and had occasion to build churches, they, like the Italians, did it in their own way. They often used wood; so often, indeed, that wood church building was sometimes called a Scottish fashion. But it is a mistake to think, as some have done, that they never used stone. St. Ninian had built his stone church at Whitherne nearly two centuries before Austin set foot in Kent. And when his followers overran England form Northumbria downwards they carried with them their from of building which met and was modified by the Italian form, but contributed the larger share to the shaping of the English tradition. Most small English churches were built on a plan, which is purely "Scottish," all through the Saxon time and beyond it. There are scores of them all over the country. The smaller church at Deerhurst (fig. 19), built in the middle of the eleventh century, will serve for an example. Note its small square presbytery and narrow arch. The church at Kirkdale,[1] near Kirby

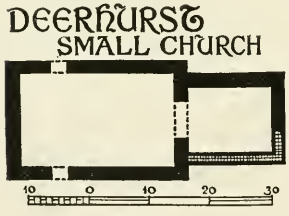

FIG. 19.

[1] An inscription over the south door tells us that this church was built new on the site of an older one, which was in ruins, between 1056 and 1065. There are many stones with older knotwork built into the walls.

Moorside, is a contemporary and dated building of like form but rather larger size.

Corhampton, Hampshire; St. Martin's, Wareham; and Wittering, Northamptonshire, and many more, shew the same plan almost complete. Sometimes a western tower is added, as at Kirkhammerton, Yorkshire[1] (fig. 20); and often a parish church, which by enlargements and rebuildings has grown to something very different, may be traced back to a beginning of this form. Such are St. Benet's, Cambridge; Bosham, Sussex; and Brigstock, Northampton. And I believe the same is true of most of the very many churches which have Saxon west towers, but nothing else so old to be seen in them.

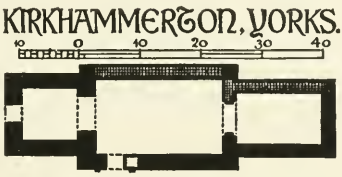

FIG. 20.

Except those of the early Northumbrian group, which, though strongly influenced by Scottish tradition, are not purely Scottish, all the examples of the Scottish type which have so far been mentioned with dates to them belong to quite the end of the Saxon period, and I believe that by far the larger part of the whole do so, and were built after the pacification of the country under Canute. But we know that there were churches built here between the seventh century and the eleventh; and when we find a plan introduced at the former time and still in common use at the later, we may reasonably assume that there were intermediate examples, although the want of distinctive architectural character and the almost total absence of written record makes it impossible for us to identify them. Even of important collegiate and monastic churches there is little to be found in history, and of the parish churches generally nothing at all, except what they preserve in their own fabrics. Of St. Michael's church, St. Albans, we know that it was built in 948, and if the "restorers" who have lately been operating there have not taken it away, there is enough of the original building left to shew that it was an aisleless nave with a presbytery. This carries us back 100 years; and if the existing chapel

[1] This plan was measured in 1892. Since then the church has suffered "restoration," and, I am told, is much altered.

at Bradford-on-Avon be that of Bishop Aldhelm, which I believe it is, we have in it an example of the eighth century.

The church of St. Nicholas at Leicester had a north aisle added to it about 1100, or a little earlier. It has been much altered both in mediæval and modern times, and the only Saxon work now to be seen in it is some of the west end, and the walling above the Norman arcade. There are remains of the original windows in that walling. The work has an early look, and seems to have belonged to a church of the Scottish type, but with the addition of buildings at the west, as we find in some other examples. There is, however, nothing left to tell us of the original form of the east end here. In Norman times the church was made cruciform, with a central tower.

The church at Boarhunt (fig. 21) in Hampshire is of this type. It is described by Mr. Irvine in the thirty-third volume of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, pp. 367–380, and he dates it about 1025. That date seems to fit well with the comparatively wide (6 feet 8 inches) and rather low chancel arch with a framing of square rib work, and with the double splayed window, which, with its midwall slab, remains perfect, at the north side of the chancel. At the west end of this church there has been a chamber the full height and width of the nave and about 14 feet from east to west. This chamber was joined to the nave by pulling down the separating wall, as it seems in the thirteenth century, and its original use is uncertain. It was not a vestibule to the church like the west chamber at South Elmham, for at Boarhunt there are traces of Saxon doorways on both sides of the nave. It may have been the baptistery, or it may have been the dwelling of the priest or priests attached to the church.[1] There seems to have been a western chamber

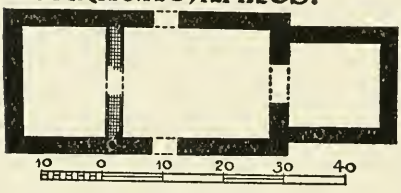

FIG. 21.

[1] Not only in Saxon times, but a good deal later, dwelling places were much more closely mixed up with churches in England than is the custom here now. The Saxon west towers at Deerhurst, Wearmouth, Brigstock, and Brixworth, were evidently dwelling places, and so were that of Bedale church, Yorkshire, and that lately pulled down at Irthlingborough church, Northamptonshire,

of the same kind at Diddlebury church, Salop, where only the north wall of the Saxon church remains, but in it is the return of the cross wall which formed the original west end of the nave.[1]

The tower did not originally belong to either tradition of church building, but it was added to both. And the form of it in most general use was so closely copied from that of the common Italian bell tower that it is easy to see whence it came. It is a square prism, small in plan, and rather tall for its width, with few openings except the belfry windows, which are of two or more lights separated by turned shafts placed in the middle of the thickness of the wall. There are very many such towers at the west ends of churches in different parts of the country, and two remarkable groups of them one in Lincolnshire along the Humber and Trent, and the other along the Tyne. After the use of church bells became common they were probably hung in openings of the west gables where there were not towers for them. There are two openings which seem to have been for this use at Corhampton.

After the close of the missionary period, when the English Church had become a national institution, no more churches seem to have been built upon the Italian types of plan; but the Italian influence shewed itself still in the occasional use of the apse, the larger presbytery, and the wider arch, and probably also in many matters of detail and arrangement which we can not trace now. The Scottish type, on the contrary, continued, as we have seen, all through Saxon times, and was passed on to those which came after. It is excellent for small churches

both of them of the fourteenth century. Along the Scotch border there are church towers planned for defence as well as residence. Against the west wall of the nave of the church at Laindon in Essex, is, or lately was, a half timber house of three stories; and something of the same kind, called the *anchorage*, was the only dwelling provided for the parson of Chester-le-Street as late as 1666. He was allowed £10 a year to keep house on. (Blunt's *Thousand Years of Chester-le-Street*, p. 8.) Some further remarks on this subject are transferred to the additional note B at the end of the paper.

[1] The ruined chapel at Ebbs Nook in the parish of Bamborough, an account of which by Mr. Albert Way and Mr. Hodgson Hinde is printed with a plan in the eleventh volume of our *Journal*, had a west chamber the full width of the nave, but not of the same work with it. But judging from the plan, I do not think that the church is anything like the age there claimed for it. If the two side doorways are as shewn—rebated, chamfered, and splayed—they can not be earlier than the twelfth century.

when the requirements are simple, but the old builders were not content with it when room had to be found for several altars, or where any degree of architectural display was sought for. And their efforts to get something better, ending as they did in the evolution of the cross church, shew that, however much they were tied by Roman tradition, they were not without some power of advance in their own way.[1] The process was a very slow one, but the result was important, for it produced the plan which in its turn became the beginning of the more elaborate church plans of the Gothic period.

We see the germ of the cross church as far back as St. Austin's time in the church of St. Pancras at Canterbury. About the middle of the south side of the nave is what looks like, and really was, a porch. But it was more than a mere vestibule—it was a side chapel. The ruins of an altar still stand against the east wall, and it will be seen that the door to the church is kept to the west so as to be out of the way of the altar. The outer door must have been at a higher level with a descent of steps probably of wood, and I think that the two chases in the wall at the south-west corner, which appear to have been intended to fix woodwork, are marks of that stair.

Aldhelm's church at Bradford-on-Avon (fig. 22) has a porch in the middle of the north side of the nave with the outer door well to the west, telling of the former presence of an altar. This is later than the Canterbury example; but the arrangement is the same, except that the nave is very much smaller at Bradford, so that by comparison the porch has something of the dignity of a transept.

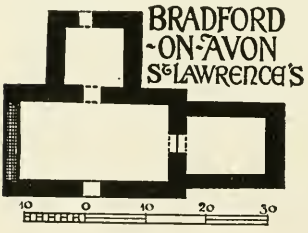

FIG. 22.

Whether there was a corresponding porch on the other side is uncertain. But the appearance of such a building

[1] Churches planned upon the cross were built in the East in very early times, but they did not appear in Italy any sooner than they did by independent development here. The Italian basilica even with the cross nave which we, using the term we are accustomed to with respect to later work, call a transept, does not properly give the cross form, and I do not think that there was any idea of it in the minds of those who used that plan.

as that at Bradford seems to have suggested to someone the idea of separating these porch chapels from the entrances and moving them eastwards, and so getting the appearance of the cross plan outside. I say *outside*, because at first the transepts scarcely appear as such inside, being entered from the main church through very small openings, or mere doorways.

There is a very pretty example at Britford, near Salisbury, which I am sorry I have not a plan of. The nave walls remain with the transept arches in them. They are so small that some have called them doorways.

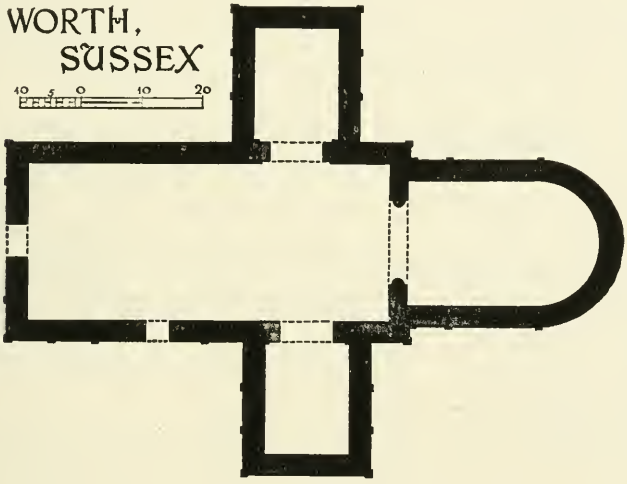

FIG. 23.

A larger and more complete example is found at Worth in Sussex, of which a plan is shewn (fig. 23). This is a church with a large presbytery, an apse, and a wide arch after the Italian tradition. But the transept arches are comparatively small. The transepts are not opposite to one another, which is probably accidental.

These churches are transitional in type, uniting elements from the Italian and the Scottish traditions and leading up to the purely English cross church. That at Britford has the jambs of its south transept arch enriched with some very curious carving, and, I think, is rather early,

probably of the ninth century.[1] The church at Worth has details commonly found in buildings of the last century of the Saxon period, and most likely is of that date.[2]

In these churches the development of the plan has not added to it any new member, and, although the cross form has been in a manner reached, the parts are only the nave, the presbytery, and the two side "porches," as at Canterbury at the end of the sixth century. The next step was important. A square was cut off from the east end of the nave by a cross wall in which an arch was formed, and that part was carried up above the roofs in the form of a broad tower. It was a great advance, and the beginning of that grand and specially English feature —the central steeple. The continued use, with it, of the smaller western tower shews that the intention of the central tower was to give dignity to the building. To what place and person the credit of its first achievement should be given we do not know, but it was generally taken up; and the cross, with a broad tower in the middle and a slender one at the west end, seems to have been the usual plan of the larger churches built in the later part of the Saxon period, whilst in smaller ones of the better sort the use of the central tower was not uncommon.

The earliest date I can find for a two-towered cross church is 969, when one was built at Ramsey.[3] And I am sorry to have to add that the central tower failed, and had to be rebuilt, thereby setting a precedent much followed by the central towers of later times.

The presbytery and transepts kept the same relation to the nave after the addition of the central tower as they

[1] In 1887 I saw in the little church at Bradford-on-Avon a large slab covered with carving, which had evidently formed part of such a jamb as those at Britford. I was told that it had been found in the parish church, which stands near by, and it seems to be a relic of a ninth century church on that site.

[2] The church has been terribly "restored," but there is a good description of it before that catastrophe in the seventh volume of the *Sussex Archæological Collections*. It is written by Mr. W. S. Walford, and has good wood-cut illustrations. The present plan is based on Mr. Walford's.

[3] "*Duæ quoque turres ipsis tectorum culminibus eminebant, quarum minor versus occidentem in fronte basilicæ pulchrum intrantibus insulam a longe spectaculum præbebat; major vero in quadrifidæ structuræ medio columnas quatuor, porrectis de alia ad aliam arcubus, sibi invicem connexas, ne laxe defluerent, deprimebat.*" *Hist. Ramseiens,*" cap. xx., in Gale's *Quindecim Scriptores*, quoted in Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*, Vol. V., p. 126.

had before, and therefore the four arms of the cross are not of equal sections, the eastern being generally smaller than the western, and the side arms still less. This would hardly have been so had the cross plan been the conception of one man, but it came quite naturally by the process of slow development.[1]

Turning to actual remains, the only example of the two-towered church which we have in a state approaching completeness is that in the Castle at Dover (fig. 24), the builders of which adapted for their western bell-tower the Roman light-house, which they found already there.

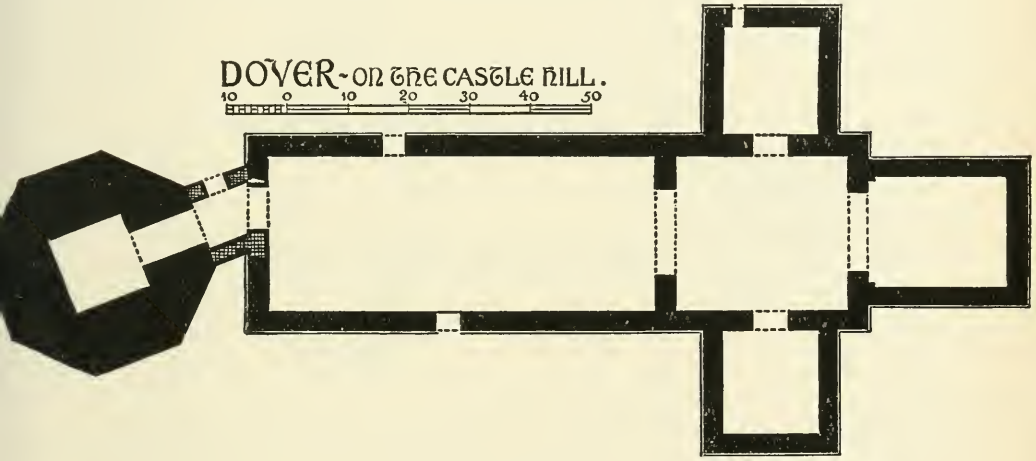

FIG. 24.

Its faces were not to the cardinal points, and they wanted their church to turn to the east, so they got over the difficulty by putting between the tower and the west end of the church a building which formed a porch below, and probably a dwelling-place above. The side arches of the central tower are insertions of the twelfth century, made, as it appears, because the original openings, whatever they may have been, were not thought large enough.

The next example is St. Mary's, or the larger church

[1] The equalisation of the arms of the cross was a further development reached in a few churches, chiefly of the largest sort, but it was never general in England.

at Deerhurst (fig. 25).[1] It is a good deal less than that at Dover, but the plan shews that in its last Saxon form it was a two-towered church of like plan to that last described. The central tower has gone, but the western one remains, and is a very remarkable building. It is described in the additional note B. The plan of the church shews the side walls of the nave black as still existing, which in fact they do, but only the upper parts of them. They are carried by arcades of thirteenth century work. These may take the places of earlier ones, and the church may, as was suggested before, have had aisles at its first building. If it had,

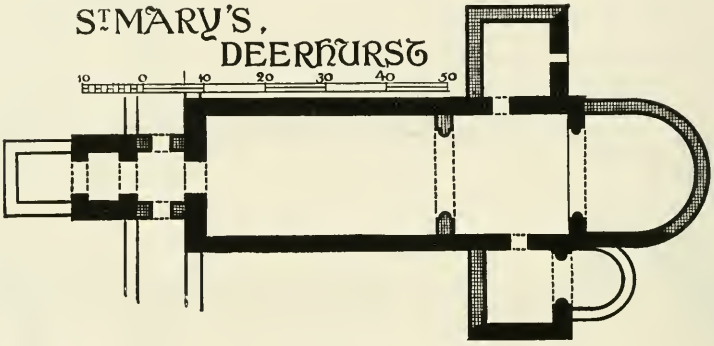

FIG. 25.

I suspect that it lost them as Brixworth did, and was without when the east part of the church was put into the form shewn on the plan. That seems to have been about the beginning of the eleventh century, but it is certain that there is earlier work in the west end and tower, and probable that there also is in the side walls of the nave. The presbytery is round-ended and wide-arched, as at Worth, and there is an arch in the east wall of the south transept leading to an altar space beyond. In the corresponding position on the other side is a doorway which has led to some chamber outside.

[1] The plan shews parts which now exist only in the form of foundations below ground. They are taken from a plan made in 1860 under the direction of Mr. Slater, the architect, who was then carrying out considerable alterations on the church. It is now in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries. The southern apse was not found by Mr. Slater, and is put in on the authority of my much regretted friend, Dr. J. H. Middleton, who found evidence of it. To him I also owe a plan of the smaller church at Deerhurst made on its first discovery in 1885.

The openings from the tower to the transepts on the floor lines are very small doorways, but there is an arch higher up on each side which looks as if it might have opened from an upper floor or gallery.

The only visible part of the church at Repton which is of Saxon date is the presbytery. There was more till 1854, when the "restorers" pulled it down, and it is only from foundations which were uncovered in 1887, when something else was done to the church, that we know its old form. I have to thank Mr. Irvine for a copy of the plan (fig. 26) and one of a paper which he wrote upon the church in the Archæological Association's *Journal*. The plan revealed very closely resembles that at Dover, and there can be no doubt that, although the presbytery was inherited from something earlier, the transepts, and what was between them, and the body of the church, are near in date to the work at Dover; and that there was a central tower. We can not tell, certainly, whether there was also a western tower; but, considering the importance of the church at Repton, it is likely that there was. Repton was the see church of Diuma, the first Bishop of Mercia, who was buried there in 658. St. Chad moved the see to Lichfield in 664, but Repton continued to be the seat of a famous monastery of men and women ruled by an abbess, after the manner of that of St. Hilda at Whitby. In 874 the Danes destroyed the monastery, and they occupied the county for a hundred years. At the time of the Domesday Survey Repton had a church and two priests.[1] What happened at Repton seems to have been the same as happened in many of the places where monasteries had been founded in the first days of English Christianity. The monastery remained till it was harried by the Danes. Then the

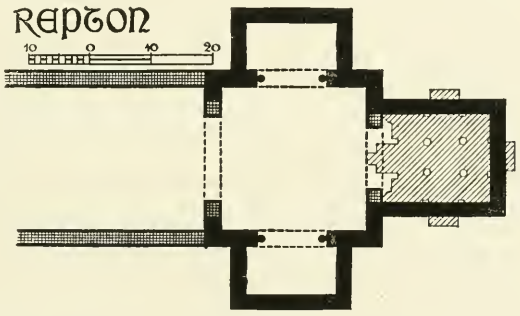

FIG. 26.

[1] I take these dates from Dr. Cox's *Churches of Derbyshire*.

building stood in ruins for a time, greater or less as it chanced. But the tradition of the sanctity of the place remained; and as soon as peace returned, the Christian people gathered round it again, and enough of repair was made to permit the services to be carried on until a rebuilding was possible. The Danes could not take away the lands with them, and, though the monastery was not restored, the real property with which it had been endowed was still considered to belong to the Church, and allowing for some losses by usurpation would produce a good income for the clergy who served there. But these were often married men, and it was not to their interest to share with many, and so it sometimes came about that the remains of an endowment intended for a community were taken by a single parish priest. The abuse grew up by degrees; and although some strict moralists, or disappointed men, may have complained of it, it probably excited no more scandal than did the pluralities of the eighteenth century. A notable example is afforded by Hexham, where Wilfred's great monastic foundation came to be a rich family living passed on from father to son for generations. It continued so until the twelfth century, when the last of the family, turning Cistercian monk, gave up what by long custom had become his rights, and a new foundation of regular canons was made. If we had the means of tracing the story of Repton it would probably be very like that at Hexham, though there did remain two priests there.

I differ from my friends, Dr. Cox and Mr. Irvine, in believing that the crypt at Repton is of the first monastic time. But I think this only of the crypt and the lower part of the presbytery walls within which it stands. The walls above are thicker than those below, and stand partly upon the vault, which they could not do if it had not been there first. They probably belong to the rebuilding on the cross plan, which can not well have been done when the heathen Danes were in possession, and so must have been late in the tenth, if not in the eleventh, century. The crypt seems to me to have formed no part of the later Saxon church, as if the memory of it had been lost during the time of ruin.

Professor Willis understands the contemporary metrical

description of the church which Ethelwold and Elphege built at Winchester at the end of the tenth century as telling of a central tower and aisles. This is a combination of the use of which in England I can find no evidence earlier than Edward the Confessor's work at Westminster Abbey, which we are expressly told was in a new fashion; and with full respect to the opinion of Professor Willis, who was an adept in the interpretation of architectural documents, I think he was wrong in attributing it to Winchester sixty years earlier. There probably was a central tower, although the line,

"*Per quadrasque plagas pandit ubique vias*,"

might, as we have seen, apply to a western one. Professor Willis gets the aisles from the couplet—

"*Partibus hoc Austri firmans et partibus Arcti*
Porticibus solidis arcubus et variis;"

but the passage goes on—

"*Addidit et plures sacris altaribus ædes*
Quæ retinent dubium liminis introitum
Quisquis ut ignotis deambulat atria plantis
Nesciat unde meat, quove pedem referat
Omni parte fores quia conspiciuntur aperta
Nec patet ulla sibi semita certa viæ
Huc illucque vagos stans circumducit ocellos
Attica Dedalei tecta stupetque soli
Certior advenat donec sibi ductor et ipsum
Ducat ad extremi limina vestibuli &c."

It is a fair sample of the poet Wolstan's fustian, and the reference all through is not to the church, until the puzzled traveller gets to the door in the last line quoted, but to the forecourt; and the *portici*, or chapels, to the north and the south, were connected with its side walks, either forming them or being beyond and entered through them. The church itself may have been an aisleless cross church of the Dover type. But I gather nothing certain about it from Wolstan's lines, except that it had a tower, which may have been central, and a crypt.[1]

[1] It may be noted that the churches of the abbeys of Ely and Bury St. Edmund's, when rebuilt on a very large scale in the twelfth century, were each planned with a central and one western tower. Both replaced Saxon churches, and it seems likely that this arrangement of towers, which is not according to the usual practice of the twelfth century, continued a tradition of earlier churches of the Dover type.

There were smaller churches following generally the Dover type of plan, but with only the central tower, and, so far as we can tell, no buildings of any sort outside the west end. Such were Stanton Lacy in Shropshire and Wooten Wawen in Warwickshire. And sometimes, as happened also later, the central tower was used without transepts, as at Langford, Oxfordshire; Great Dunham, Norfolk, and, I think, originally at St. Mary's, Guildford.

In none of the examples mentioned so far does the cross plan shew itself much inside the building. Even at Repton, where the transept arches are the largest, they are

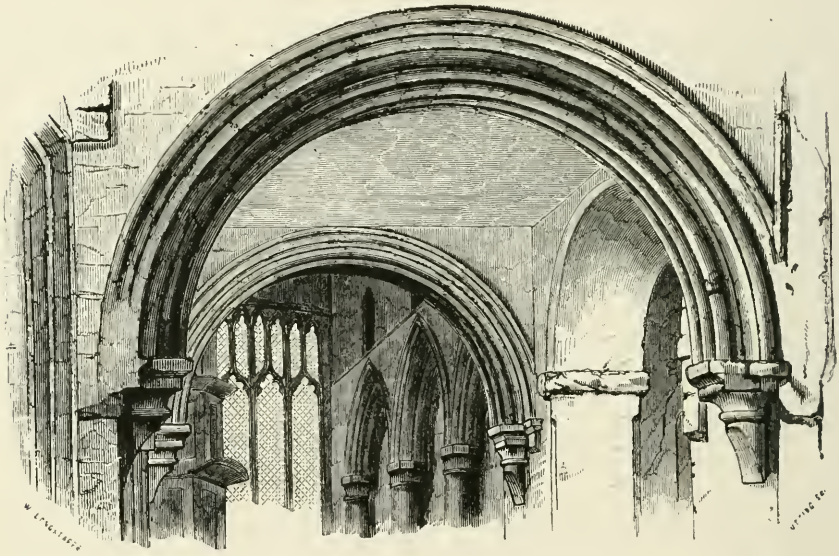

FIG. 27. NORTON, DURHAM.

still only openings left in the walls which rose direct from the ground. But the plan of a tower standing on four piers and open equally on all sides was reached before the end of Saxon time. There is one such at Stowe in Lindsay, which we have reason for dating about 1052; and one at Norton in Durham is described and illustrated in the twelfth volume of our *Journal* (fig 27). The early work is a good deal mixed up with later, but the original intention is clear in each case.

The common Italian pattern so much used for western towers was not suited for central towers, which had to be

of a much broader proportion; and the builders of them, and of the towers of the next type of church to be discussed, which also were broad, made some efforts to break away from tradition, which are interesting, though the architectural result is not generally very successful.

This seems to be the right place to mention Mr. Park Harrison's curious discovery at Christchurch, Oxford, where he has found a Saxon wall with three small arches in it, and outside it the foundations of three apses into which they opened. Mr. Park Harrison, who claims for the work so early a date as 727, interprets it as being the east end of a small church with a nave and aisles, or rather three parallel and nearly equal naves, the whole being about 25 feet wide between the walls. We have nothing like this in English work elsewhere, and I venture to offer another solution which at least brings it nearer to what we have (fig. 28). By treating it as on the Dover type of church we get what, but for its very small size, might almost be taken for a twelfth century plan, when transepts with apsidal chapels to the east of them were common. But we have found a Saxon example of such a chapel at Deerhurst, and there is a very Saxon look about the Oxford remains. I think, therefore, they are Saxon, but they must be late. Perhaps as early as 1004, when we are told some work was done there, but not earlier.

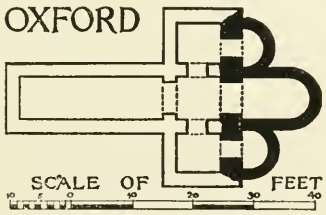

FIG. 28.

I now come to a type of church which, so far as I know, has not been noticed before. In this the tower is not an appendage at the west end or in the middle, but itself is the body of the church. The church of St. Peter at Barton-on-Humber is a large mediæval church with a west tower, which has been recognised as Saxon ever since Rickman's day. West of the tower is a small building also Saxon work, with which the illustrators have played strange tricks. Britton omits it altogether in his view of the tower, and so does whoever is responsible for the cut in Parker's "Rickman," and Mr. Weatherley, in Sir Gilbert Scott's *Mediæval Archi-*

tecture, has given it a west door, which it has not, and never had, and made it into a big porch.

I visited the church in 1889 with Dr. Fowler, and after careful examination became convinced that this tower, with the western appendage, and a corresponding eastern one, of which we thought we could see some vestiges in the west wall of the present church, was really the original church. I give a plan of it (fig. 29), which makes it not the smallest of the churches we are considering. The walls are thin for a tower; but that is common in Saxon work, the builders of which, though generally devoid of architectural imagination, did their work better than those who came after, and their thin wall stands where the Norman thick one has often fallen. We see here that the tower has an opening on each face of the ground floor, those on the east and west being arches of some size, and those on the north and south only doorways. This is as in the early porches we have considered, except that here the doors are in the western parts of the sides, and not in the eastern, as they generally are in the porches, to bring them well into the arcade walks. The flanks of the tower are elaborately ornamented after a rude fashion, and shew no indication of any butting arcades. The porch theory had to be given up, though it would have been pleasant to find one of these porches with the baptistery still standing. Going inside we found that the east and west arches are ornamented with rib work on the sides towards the tower, but are without it on the outsides, thus shewing that the tower was the place from which they were expected to be seen. Over the eastern arch is a stone slab in the wall, and on the upper part of it a face is carved in relief. All things seem to point to the tower itself being the place of assembly, the western building probably, as in the basilican plan, the baptistery, and the lost eastern building the presbytery. The slab over the presbytery arch I believe to be one of the earliest examples we have of

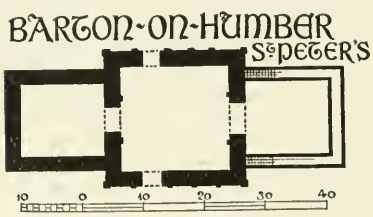

FIG. 29.

the great rood, the face only having been carved, and all the rest executed in painting, which has perished. The tower seems to have been raised at some time soon after its building.

I found another church of the same type at Broughton (fig. 30), a few miles away to the south on the great Roman road. It has the east and west arches, but only the south side door, which, as at Barton, is well to the west of the wall. There is no baptistery, but the west arch leads to a circular stair-turret like those at Brixworth and Brigstock in Northamptonshire. The work is getting near to the Norman in detail, and I should put it at about 1050–60.[1] The Barton church may be a few years earlier.

There are some reasons for believing that the well-

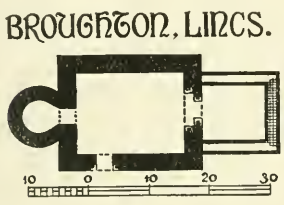

FIG. 30.

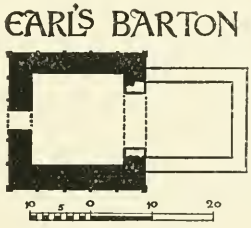

FIG. 31.

known Saxon tower at Earl's Barton (fig. 31), near Northampton, may have been a church of the same sort. It is broad and large, and its eastern corners are completed down to the ground, as if what building there was to the east of it had been narrower than it is. The one door is to the west, and there was an unusual number of windows in the lowest story of the tower. Unfortunately the east arch no longer remains, a later and no doubt larger one taking its place. The ornamentation of this tower, though it is much more elaborate, comes nearer in character to that of its name-sake on the Humber than to any other I know.

[1] Since this paper was read at Canterbury, Dr. Fowler has learned from enquiries made at Broughton that some years since, when the church was being repaved, the foundation of a square chamber, just east of the tower as the plan shews, was seen. I am very glad to have this information, which raises my theory to a proved fact.

There is another large and much ornamented tower at Barnak (fig. 32), near Northampton, which I have been rather tempted to think a church in itself, and the existence of what look like seats of honour on its west, north, and south sides seem to mark it as being a place of meeting, and something more than a bell tower attached to a larger church. But the east corners appear to be united with the end wall of a building wider than the tower, which can scarcely be other than the nave of a church. And the tower arch, which is original, is wider than is commonly found, and than we should expect if it had opened into a presbytery. Altogether, the plan is a very curious one, and needs explanation. I have to thank Mr. Irvine for the use of his careful drawings of both Earl's Barton and Barnak.

FIG. 32.

One interest of the "tower" churches is that they seem to be the beginning from which have developed the churches of Denmark and the Baltic islands, with their broad, short naves, sometimes with pillars in the middle, but always without aisles. I incline, therefore, to associate them with the Danes, and the positions of them justify this. But whether they be a few outlying examples of a foreign fashion, or the Danes took the fashion as they found it here, and developed it further at home, may be questioned. I think the latter more likely. The period between the acceptance of Christianity by the Danes and the building of these churches was scarcely long enough to allow of the growth of a Danish national type of church plan, though one did come afterwards.

The subject of the arrangement and furniture of the Saxon churches is too large to be dealt with fully at the end of a long paper. They were very different from what we inherit to-day from the later middle ages. The custom of making living chambers in the towers and roofs and other possible places about the churches seems to have been general. And perhaps this was the path by which the Latin *monasterium*, meaning a house wherein monks lived in seclusion, led to the English *minster*, meaning a church accessible to all men.

Western galleries were common, and the doorways leading to them from the towers may often be seen, as at Dover, at Bosham, and at Alkborough in Lincolnshire—three churches of very different forms, but all of late date. I do not remember to have found evidence of such a gallery in a very early church, except at Jarrow, which seems to have had one. But the west end[1] there has been so much altered that it can not be said that any of it is part of the first work. It may be that these galleries were used for the night offices by men who lived in the towers and in lofts connected with them, and who could in that way enter the church without going downstairs, or down ladders, which was then the more common use.

The church at Brixworth, and St. Mary's church at Deerhurst, have each a window looking from a chamber in the tower into the church. The windows are high up, and the care and cost bestowed upon them shews that they were important in some way. Windows of simpler treatment are found in the like position in some other churches. They were not to admit light into the churches, and I think it not unlikely that they also may have been part of an arrangement for saying the night offices without going below, the chambers from which they opened being used for what may be called night quires. The windowed chamber is an earlier contrivance than the gallery. Deerhurst had both, but there is no appearance of there ever having been a gallery at Brixworth.

I believe the carrying up of the early west porches into the tower form was quite as much to provide dwelling-places as for the accommodation of bells, and that this, with the making of the quire chamber, if I may call it so, was an addition to the earlier churches made before their destruction by the Danes. This point is considered more at large in additional note B. The west gallery was in general use in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and was probably introduced at Deerhurst when the church was almost rebuilt and converted to one of the Dover type, of which the western gallery forms a part.

[1] *I.e.*, of the present chancel. The tower, now central, is generally taken for early Norman work; but I suspect that there is in it something of a Saxon tower, which had itself grown from the early west porch, as seen at Wearmouth.

Remains of fittings after so long a time can not be many. But there is something left besides the crosses and grave-stones which have chiefly attracted the attention of antiquaries. Screens and seats have already been mentioned. There are some remains of altars; and some fonts, which seem to be of Saxon date, are still in use. So many sundials are left that we may almost assume that every church had one. They were made with little science, and their indications were neither accurate nor regular; but, such as they were, they served to mark the divisions of time, and were not mere architectural toys as the sundials of to-day are.

If we apply what we have been able to learn of the dates of the buildings through their plans we may go a little way—but yet, I think, only a little way—towards the dating of architectural detail.

We have been told in I know not how many books and papers that the use in a building of *long and short work*, which means quoins or pilasters formed of stones placed alternately flat and upright, is the surest evidence of Saxon date. New long and short work is very common, but it is not found in those buildings which we have reason to place at a very early date. We may therefore infer that those buildings in which it is found are later than the others, although we may not be able to say at what date this fashion came in.

Ribwork, which is given as another test, is generally only an arrangement of long and short work, and therefore must be dated with it. But there is outside the presbytery at Wing, which by its plan seems to be early, another kind of ribwork made of the material and in the ordinary courses of the walling. When new it was probably some way finished with plaster.

Windows splayed equally without and within are said to be peculiarly Saxon. Such windows, when found complete, have the actual window opening pierced in a thin slab of stone, or a wood board placed in the middle of the wall between the two splays. There is a window of this type in the little church at Bradford-on-Avon. But the few windows which remain in buildings which we have assigned to the seventh century are splayed only on the inside, and the window filling, whatever it may have been,

has been at or near the outside face of the wall.[1] Some of the latest Saxon windows have also no outside splay, but these are easy to distinguish by their resemblance to Norman work.

All through Saxon times doorways were formed straight through the wall without any splay or rebate. Sometimes a rebate has been cut afterwards, as at Barton on-Humber, where only the north door, which seems to have been blocked soon after it was made, has escaped alteration.

Herring-bone work is a method of laying rubble in courses of stones inclined to the right in one course and to the left in the next. The Saxons used it, and so did the Romans before them, and the Normans[2] after them. It can not be taken by itself as a test of date. Stonework turned in the lathe was used by the Romans, and after them by the Saxons, quite to the end of the time when their buildings have a special character. It seems never to have been used by the Normans, and may therefore be taken as indicating Saxon time, but, till we know more about it, not any special period.

The *triangular* arch, as it is called, was very much used in late Saxon work, but some examples seem to go as far back as the eighth century.

The Saxon builders would use Roman detail when they could get it, which I do not remember to have found later men doing. Therefore, the occurrence of Roman detail in a building may raise a suspicion of Saxon date.

For example, the tower arch at Corbridge, on the Roman wall, is a Roman arch complete, probably a gateway from some fort on the wall. Roman imposts are to be seen in the same position at Alkborough, Lincolnshire. There is a Roman pillar used up in the arcade before the presbytery at St. Pancras's, Canterbury. The font at Wroxeter is the

[1] Two of the three early windows which remain on the south side of Jarrow church have pierced slabs like the mid-wall slabs, but flush with the outside. Sir Gilbert Scott held these to be additions, though of Saxon date. Mr. J. R. Boyle, writing in the tenth volume of *Archæologia Æliana* considers them original, and ridicules the idea of their having been put in as a means of defence. I think Scott was right, and that the defence was not against Danes and sea-rovers, but against the Northumbrian blasts, after the work of Benedict Biscop's Gaulish glassmakers had gone the way of all window glass.

[2] A good Norman example is in the nave of Kippax church, Yorkshire, which has been called *Roman* because of it, but which is of the twelfth century.

base of a large Roman pillar turned bottom upwards and hollowed out. As we have seen, the builders of the church in Dover Castle took over the Roman lighthouse whole to make their bell tower. And I believe the real cause of the preservation of the Roman gateway, called the Jewry wall, at Leicester, is that the builders of St. Nicholas's church there made use of it as part of their fore-building.

The meeting of the Archæological Institute at Canterbury in July, 1896, when the controversy about St. Martin's church, and visits to that of St. Pancras, to Reculver, to Lyminge, and to Dover, brought under notice some of the most important remains of Saxon church building that survive, has caused me to write sooner than I intended. I have had to discuss some buildings which I have not seen; and there are others which, if it might have been, I would rather have seen again before writing. But the ready help of my brother Antiquaries has let me see with their eyes what was beyond the range of my own. If a plan was wanted, or some point about a building needed to be looked to, there was nearly always someone able and willing to help. I am especially indebted to Mr. Irvine for freely opening to me his store, the antiquarian gathering of many years in many places. Like help from others has already been acknowledged, and of helpers whose names there has not been occasion to mention before I would now remember: Sir Henry Dryden, the Rev. C. R. Manning, Mr. G. E. Fox, the Rev. G. T. Harvey, Mr. W. G. Fretton, and the late Mr. R. J. Johnson, of Newcastle.

If the paper had been delayed longer it might have been more conclusive, or it might never have been written. I offer it as it is, and hope it may interest and perhaps help some who will carry on the study further.

Additional Notes.

A.—*On the Saxon crypts.*

Mr. Watkins, the then rector who examined the ground in 1841, says positively, in his account of it, that there was not any crypt within the wall of the apse at Brixworth. But I am not satisfied with the evidence as he gives it. The part of the wall at the east, where the

entrance to the crypt would have been, had been destroyed in making a grave. It is, however, possible that the crypt may have been intended and prepared for, but never actually made. Mr. Irvine, in the fifth volume of the *Journal of the Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society*, has shewn that the crypt at Repton was built up within already standing walls, and lately Mr.

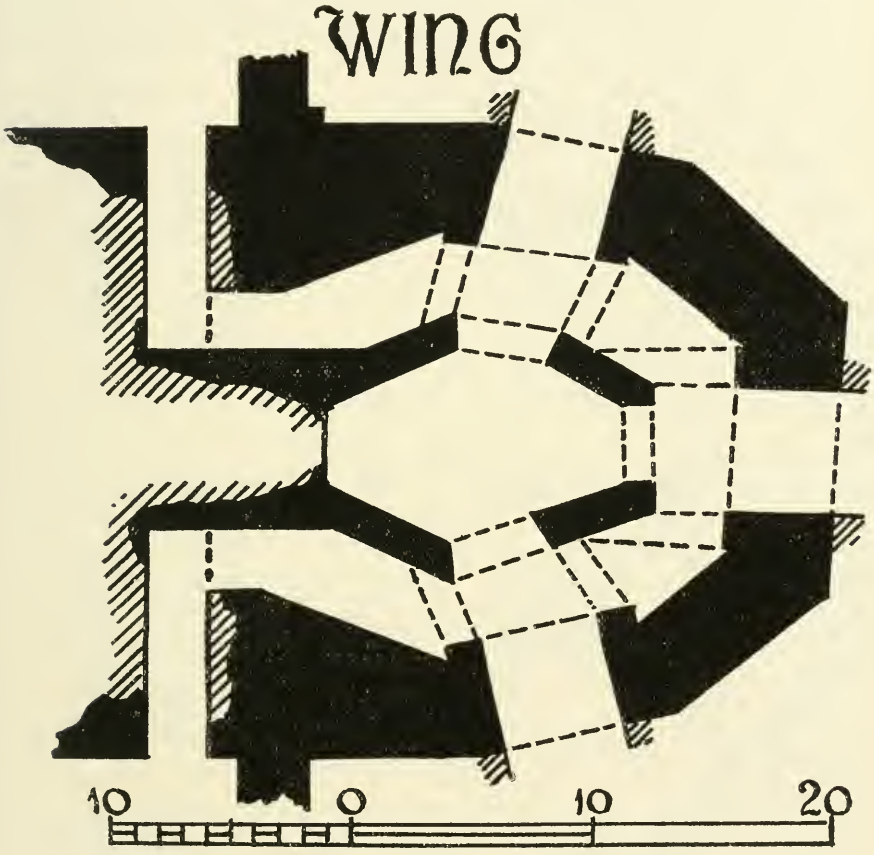

FIG. 33.

Hope, who accompanied me on a visit to Wing during the preparation of this paper, found evidence that the same had been done there. It is not likely that there was much difference in date, as the crypt has in each case been prepared for in the first building; but it may be that the men who could build the walls were not skilled to execute the vaulting required for the crypt,

and the work had to be put off until those who could do it might be had, and in the case of Brixworth deferred so long that the desire to have a crypt passed away.

About 990 Elphege, Bishop of Winchester, put a crypt into the church which Ethelwold, his predecessor, had consecrated only ten years before. And he consecrated it again, perhaps because the high altar had been moved. This, besides illustrating the habit of building crypts within already existing walls, shews us the use of one

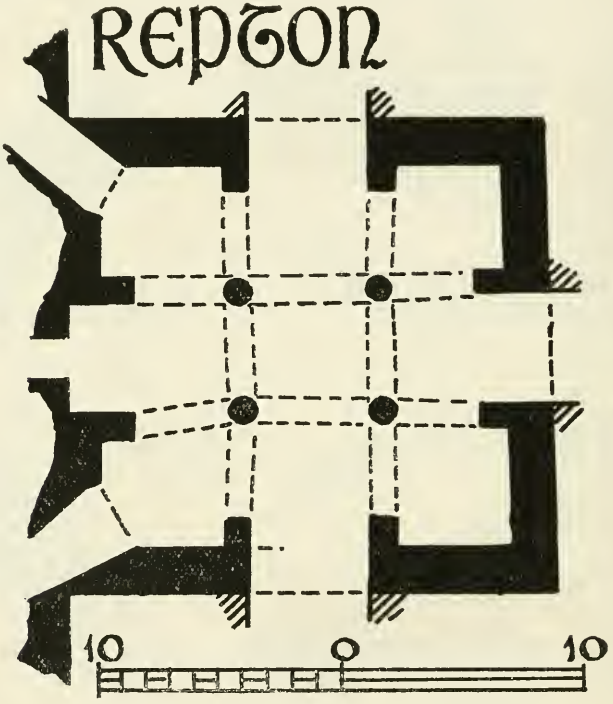

FIG. 34.

in late Saxon times. We should indeed expect this, for crypts were still built in the twelfth century. But whether the tenth century crypt at Winchester was nearer to the Italian *confessio*, as we have it at Hexham or Wing, or to the vaults of Worcester or Rochester, we have nothing to tell us. It stood between them in the line of tradition. The crypts at Wing (fig. 33) and at Repton (fig. 34), and what there is of that at Brixworth (fig. 35), differ considerably in form, but have much in

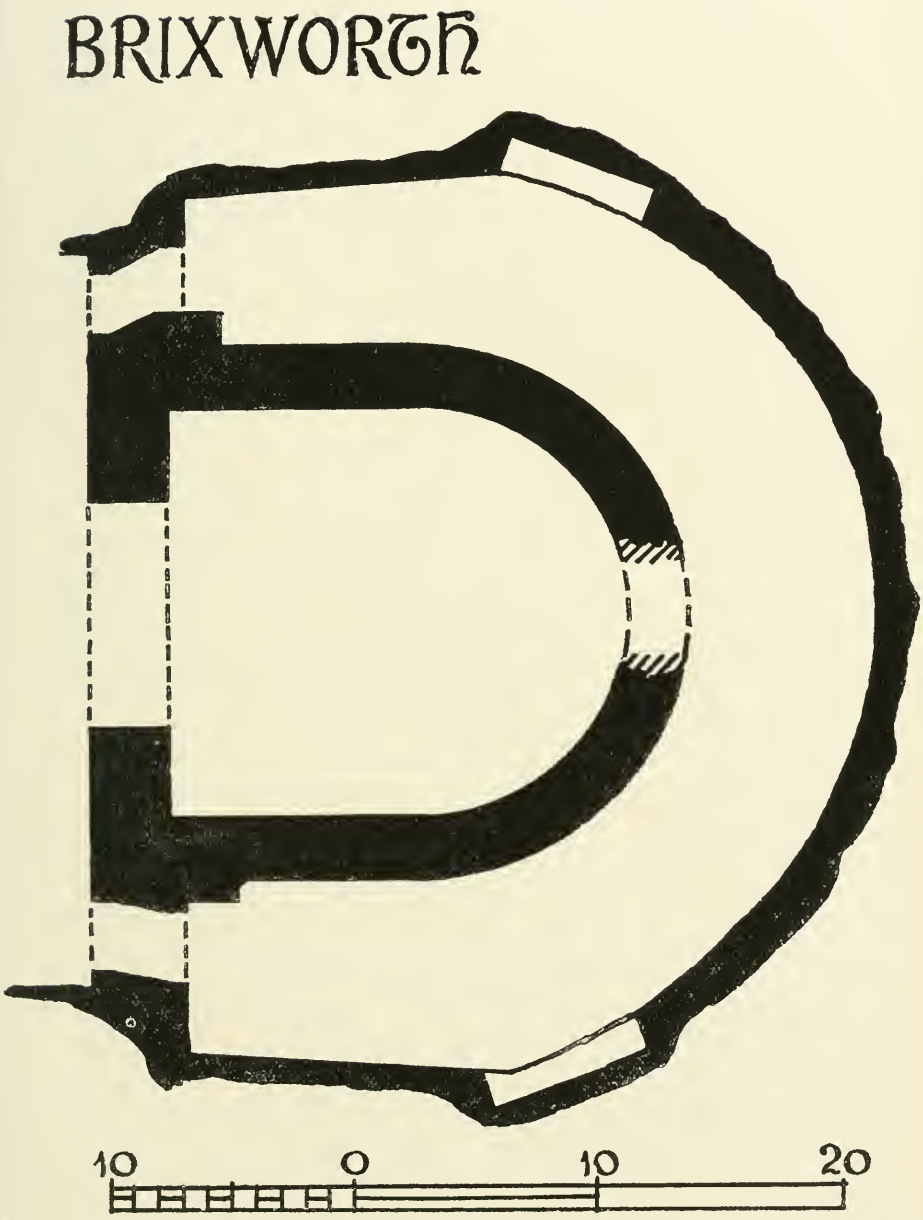

FIG. 35.

common: and I think they can not be far apart in date, which the last-named seems to fix in the seventh century. It will be seen that all keep the form of a central chamber with a passage round it reached from the upper church by a stair at each end, although at Wing the walls of the central chamber have become piers with openings between them, and at Repton it is only marked out by four pillars at the corners. Each, too, has had *arcosolia* or arched chambers intended to receive tombs radiating outwards from the passage. Of these there were three—towards the east, north, and south—at Repton and Wing; and two —towards the north-east and south-east—at Brixworth.

The crypts at Hexham and Ripon have each a place provided for a burial, but it is quite different in form from those for which I have ventured to appropriate the name *arcosolia*. It is a narrow, passage-like chamber running westward, and only just wide enough to receive a coffin. The burial chamber at Ripon was turned into a passage of entrance to the crypt at some time during the later middle ages, which so disguised it that I did not discover its real character until 1892, when the Dean and Chapter kindly allowed me to open the ground to see if there had been a second stair to the east, as I suggested there might have been in a paper written ten years before, and printed in the thirty-ninth volume of our *Journal*. The result of that search is recorded in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* for June 16, 1892, where there is a corrected plan here, by permission of the Council of the Society, reproduced (fig. 36), together with our own, of the Hexham crypt (fig. 37). Our digging proved that there had never been any grave where I had suggested that of St. Wilfred might have been, but the discovery of what was certainly intended for a burial chamber only a few feet further to the west, and agreeing, as well as the other, with Bede's description of the place *juxta altare ad austrum* (Ecc. Hist., l. iv, c. 12), leaves no room to doubt that it was not only prepared, but used as Wilfred's resting place. That it ever was so must have been forgotten before the Churchmen of later times turned it into a passage. There is no evidence that the burial chamber at Hexham was used; but as it had not been for the founder, it very likely would be for one

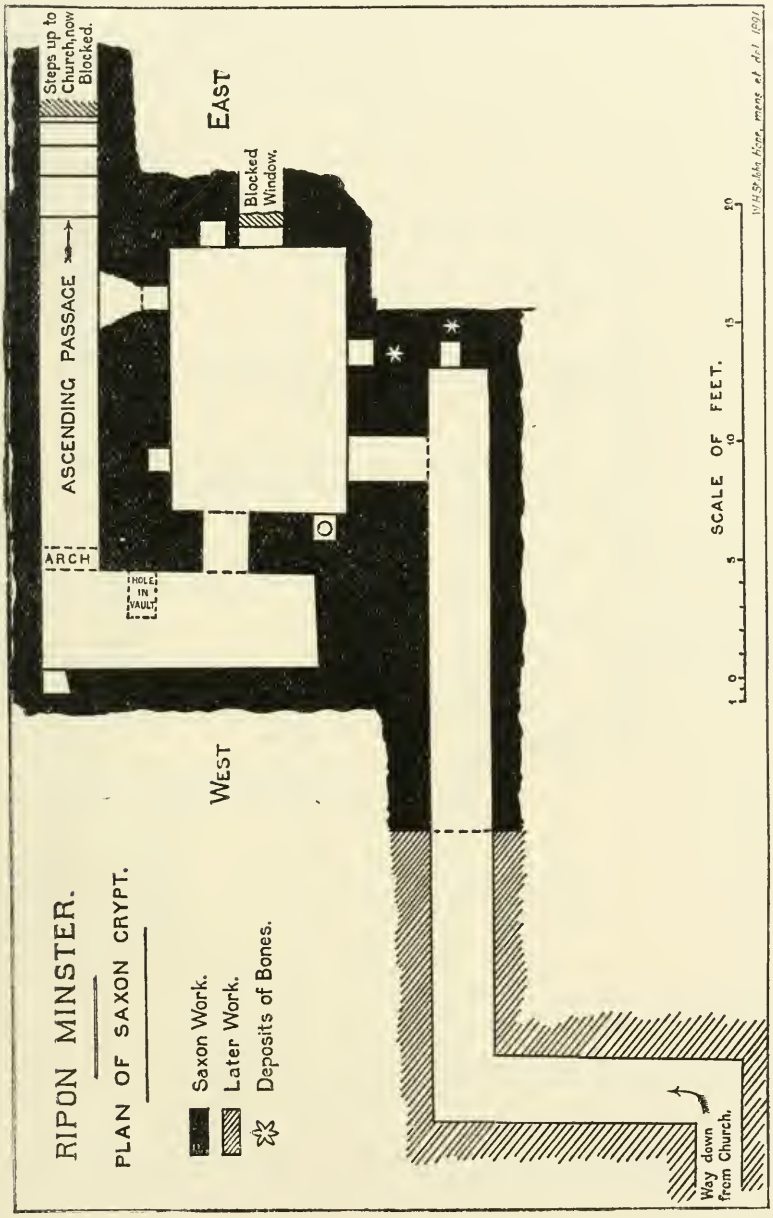
RIPON MINSTER.
PLAN OF SAXON CRYPT.
Saxon Work.
Later Work.
Deposits of Bones.
WEST
EAST
ASCENDING PASSAGE
ARCH
HOLE IN VAULT
Blocked Window.
Steps up to Church now Blocked.
Way down from Church.
SCALE OF FEET.
0
5
10
15
20

FIG. 36.

of his early successors. It, like that at Ripon, is now the entrance to the crypt. I do not know of any more Saxon crypts than those here mentioned, but there may yet be others forgotten and inaccessible, and perhaps turned into burial vaults.

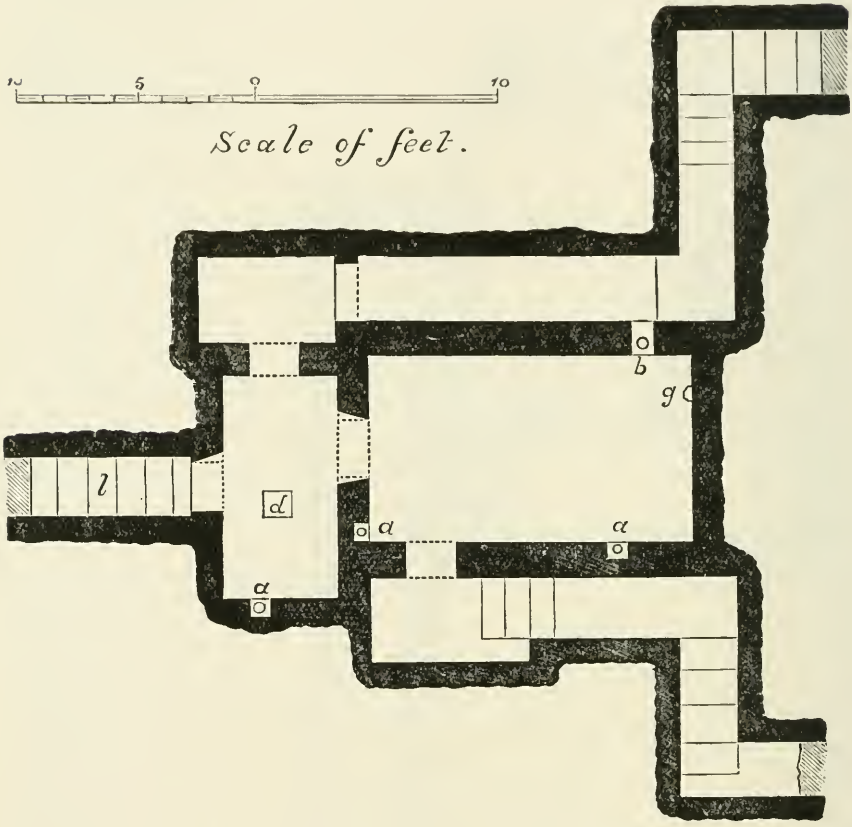

FIG. 37. CRYPT, HEXHAM.

B.—*On Dwelling Places in Churches.*

Several times in the preceding paper reference has been made to the close connexion, and almost intermixture of chambers intended to be lived in, with the Saxon churches. The matter is curious; and as it has had very little attention directed to it before, I add here a note with some more detail than could conveniently be

given in the paper itself. To the end of the Saxon time it was usual to make living rooms in the towers and roofs of the churches, but the evidence of it is clearest in the fore-buildings of the early monastic churches. That at Deerhurst gives more points than are found together in any other single monument, but the parallels of all, except the division of the two lower stories of the tower, may

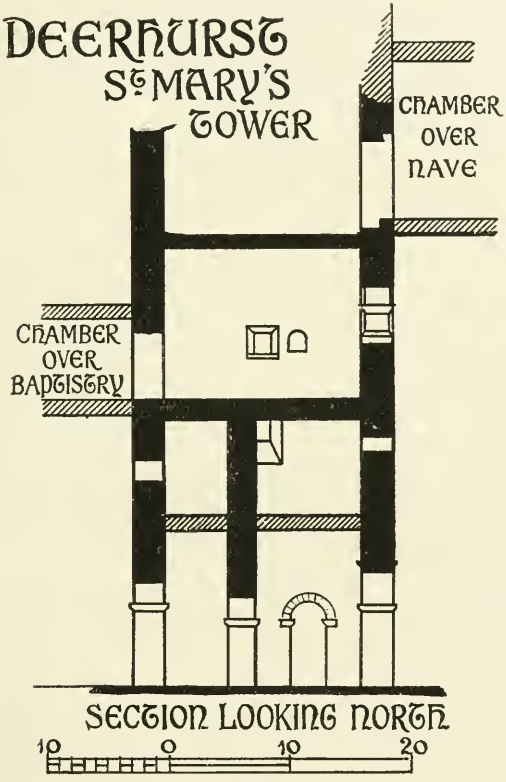

FIG. 38.

be found elsewhere, and nearly all at Wearmouth and Brixworth.

Here is a section of the tower of Deerhurst looking north (fig. 38) with later mediæval work left out and indications given of missing parts, of which those that remain supply the evidence.[1]

[1] The section is based upon one by the late Mr. R. H. Carpenter. There is a careful description in a little book, *Deerhurst, a parish in the Vale of Gloucester*, by the Rev. G. Butterworth, which I found very useful on my last visit to the place in 1890, when my attention was given chiefly to the tower.

The tower is considerably larger from east to west than from north to south, and on the ground and second stories is divided into two unequal parts, the eastern being the larger. The eastern division has formed the usual porch of entrance from the fore-court with an arch eastwards towards the church, and two small doorways north and south from the covered walks of the fore-court. These doorways were destroyed in the thirteenth century, or later, when the walls were cut away and pointed arches as wide as the chamber itself inserted. On the west an arch rather lower than that towards the church leads to the western division, which was not the baptistery, but a sort of vestibule to it. The baptistery itself stood, in the usual way, west of the tower and in the midst of the fore-court. A doorway of the thirteenth century now fills up the arch between it and the tower, which gives us the latest date up to which it can have stood.

Ascent to the upper parts of the tower must have been by wooden stairs or ladders in the western division. The western room on the second story probably had no use except as a landing. It received only a borrowed light from the baptistery, which equalled in height two stories of the tower. The eastern room was entered by a door from the other. It has windows on the north and south sides, and a triangular opening towards the church on the east. In the same wall, towards the north side, is the doorway which led to the gallery in the church, and which, I think, is an insertion of the tenth century, or later.

The third stage is now divided, but was originally one room, and that, as appears by the treatment of its details, an important one. I have already suggested that it may have been used as a night quire. On the east is the very remarkable two-light window towards the church already mentioned.[1] There are windows in the middle of the north and south walls, and close by each is a round-headed recess very like those on the walls of the

[1] The large stone tablet over this window on the church side, which looks so much as if it should have an inscription upon it, and has generally been a puzzle, very likely had an inscription, but only a *painted* one. It may have had a picture. Its position is just below where the Saxon ceiling was. The two tablets with angular tops by the presbytery arch were also probably painted, either with lettering or something else.

crypt at Ripon, and I believe, like them, intended to hold lights.

In the west wall is a doorway now towards space, but originally leading to an attic in the gable above the baptistery. This room can not have been very convenient, but the treatment of its door-case marks it as one of some importance. Perhaps it was the abbot's room.

Only part of the fourth stage remains, but enough to shew that it was a single room like the one below; and on the east side, where the wall remains higher than elsewhere, is a doorway which led up one or two steps into the space between the ceiling and the roof of the nave. This seems to point to that loft having been used as the general dormitory.

The tower must have gone up at least one more story, where the bells would hang, but that has all been replaced by later work.

It has been said before that there are reasons for believing that the church at Deerhurst had aisles, and lost them; and one reason is that on each side of the nave in the Saxon wall, above the thirteenth century arches, is a three-cornered window like that from the second stage of the tower to the church, and looking as if it had served as a sort of squint from some chamber outside, which chamber is more likely to have been an attic in the roof of an aisle than anything else. If any such attics existed at Deerhurst there must have been separate access to them from the church or from outside, as they could not be reached from the tower.

We have seen that in the late example at Nether Avon attics were formed in the roofs over the covered walks of the fore-court (fig. 11). If such existed at Deerhurst the marks of them, and of the way to them from the tower, were lost when the side walls of the entrance porch were altered.

At Wearmouth and at Brixworth the lower parts of the towers shew clearly that they are older than the upper, but I have not found any such appearance at Deerhurst, and therefore would date it later than their earliest parts; when they had been raised and the loftier tower had come into fashion. But this must have been within the early monastic period of the churches; that is, before their destruction by the Danes, and there is reason for

placing all this work in the eighth century or the early part of the ninth.

Provision of dwelling rooms seems to have been made in churches of every type described in the preceding paper. It seems to have nearly always been done in towers, and there is evidence of it in other places. Sufficient examples have already been mentioned to prove this, and I will add only two more. The "tower" church at Broughton had a chamber over the presbytery, the doorway to which from the tower remains; and at Brigstock, in Northamptonshire, an eleventh century church of nave and presbytery, with a west tower, has a doorway from the tower to a loft above the nave. In both of these cases a stair turret has been added on the west of the tower for the convenience of those who lived there. We find the same in a few other places, but not many. Brixworth is one, and there the turret stands on the site of the old baptistery, which must have been taken down to make room for it, if it had not gone earlier. Here the stair is of stone and may be original, but generally the stone turret has contained a wooden stair. I think these turrets belong to quite the end of the Saxon time. All that I have seen have been added to the towers by which they stand, and that at Broughton is added to a building which itself bears evidence of very late date.

The floors of the upper chambers seem to have been made of timber filled in between and covered with plaster, a method inherited from Roman, and passed on to mediæval, times. Mr. Irvine found some traces of such a floor over the chancel at Boarhunt, but the walls above it had not been plastered, which we should expect them to have been if there had been a living room there.

These upper chambers were probably chiefly sleeping rooms, and perhaps studies. The difficulty of service seems to unfit them for eating places, and there is no provision for cooking. There must, therefore, have been some buildings besides them, which may have been disposed round the fore-court. But we do not know what the plan of a Saxon monastery was like. The normal Benedictine arrangement existed, at least on paper, as far back as the time of Charlemagne, as the St. Gall plan bears witness, and it has the appearance of having been derived

from Roman sources. But there is no trace at all of it in monastic buildings here in England or, so far as I know, anywhere else older than the Confessor's work at Westminster Abbey.

The use of church towers as dwellings seems to have been general to the end of Saxon times, and, as mentioned in a former note, we find examples of it here and there up to the fourteenth century, or even later. Of these the most remarkable stood lately at Irthlingborough in Northamptonshire. It is much to be regretted that it does so no longer. A few years ago it was declared unsafe, whether truly or not I can not tell, and it was pulled down. In its place there is now a new tower, in some sort a copy of the old one, and called a "conservative restoration," but less worth, as evidence for the antiquary, than a good photograph or a set of measured drawings of the original. There is, however, a description of the building, with illustrations, in the Northamptonshire Society's book on the *Churches of the Deanery of Northampton*, which, after the loss of the building, has an enhanced value.

Late in the fourteenth century a small college was founded at Irthlingborough, and to accommodate it there was added to the church a western tower arranged for a dwelling house, which had so much in common with the early Saxon tower dwellings that their influence on its arrangements can scarcely be doubted. There was a porch of four doorways, not placed under the tower, but between the tower and the church, as in the Saxon example at Dover. The north and south doors were the entrances: the eastern led to the church and the western to the tower. There were three stories of living rooms above the bell chamber, and others below, some having fire-places. And at the foot of the tower were some other buildings, which, though they can not now be exactly appropriated, must have contained the dining hall and other rooms for the common use of the members of the college. Irthlingborough is within a day's walk of either Brixworth or Brigstock, and the building of such a tower at so late a date is strong presumptive evidence that the Saxon towers in those places were still inhabited at that time.